Does participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact have an effect on the outcomes of the contact?

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Award date:
2021

Awarding institution:
Coventry University

Does participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact have an effect on the outcomes of the contact?

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the University's requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

January 2021

Content removed on data protection grounds.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to explore the role that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact plays and to determine whether, and how, this trust effects the outcomes of the contact. Intergroup contact theory has long acknowledged the vital role organisations supporting intergroup contact play in the contact process but this role has been under-researched in science and under-appreciated in practice.

As such this research studies the extent to which the trust which a participant holds towards the organisation facilitating intergroup contact acts as a moderator on the contact outcomes, and how this occurs and interacts with other, known, moderators of intergroup contact. It also asks how this trust is built and in whom, or what, it manifests itself.

This addresses a gap in the theoretical understanding of the role of trust in intergroup contact by bringing together the theoretical contributions of two distinct academic fields. This enables academics, policymakers and practitioners to better understand the dynamics at play in contact, and to more effectively harness the role of trust in organisations, partners and people involved in the contact in increasing prejudice reduction and other positive contact outcomes.

Given the centrality of intergroup contact to UK and European social policy in recent decades, the potential of this understanding to have an impact beyond academia are clear. Part of the originality of this study rests of the use of a real-world case of intergroup contact, contrasting this with the use of more artificial, laboratory settings on which much of the extant 'contact' literature is based. The research examines the case study through a mixed-methods study. A quantitative, quasi-experimental study shows the extent that organisational trust effects intergroup contact outcomes. This assessment is then complemented by a qualitative study of the same programme, adding cognizance and depth of understanding to how and why this relationship functions.

The results of this study make a significant and novel contribution to the theoretical understanding of the role that organisational trust plays in intergroup contact, how this trust is built in and transferred from other parties and how this trust informs and links to established intergroup contact and group identity models. The research also affirms the crucial role which the organisation supporting intergroup contact plays in underpinning the contact process and is revelatory in showing for the first time an empirical understanding of organisational trust as a moderator of intergroup contact.

Acknowledgements

This work was made possible by Coventry University and the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations. It isn't major spoilers to say that one of the conclusions of this piece is that organisations reflect the people that make them up, and that is very true here.

My Director of Studies, Mike Hardy, is the person who is most responsible for making this happen. He gave me initial encouragement and vehicle to start this, and then the space to finish it. There was a lot of trust involved from him there. The work may not have got finished and, and certainly not as well, were it not for the rest of my Supervisory Team though. Frens Kroeger went absolutely above and beyond with commenting on everything that I sent him whilst generally being very patient and setting the bar high, whilst Matt Qvortrup did everything that I asked of him.

I am also very grateful to the other organisation involved here, CUF. Firstly, this is for allowing me to work with the Catalyst programme and secondly it is for running programmes like Catalyst and Near Neighbours in the first place. Liz Carnelley and Wahida Shaffi are the real ideological drivers behind this and both really pushed for this research to be able to take place in the way that it did, whilst Jessamin Birdsall and Heather Buckingham took care of the all of the practical elements. Thank you all.

Finally, everyone who volunteered their time to read draft versions of chapters and to make comments on the piece more generally needs thanking. This includes my mum, Jan, Simmo, Doyle and both Tom and Kim Fisher. I am hugely indebted to the last two, in particular, for the amount of time that they put in and the effort that they have in going over bits with me. Aurelie and Laura also helped a lot to get me over the line and hopefully I am helping them.

I am sorry if I have missed anyone obvious out.

Finally, I need to thank Alison and Amelia. They've lived with me through all of the various stages of COVID-19 lockdowns whilst I have been writing this up, and that hasn't been easy or ideal for anyone involved. They've been (fairly) patient and understanding and given me the space that I needed to get this done.

Cheers.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

I am used to being able to answer questions. And so, following the riots in London in 2011, sitting in a Metropolitan Police Community Tension Monitoring meeting and being unable to fully answer one really threw me.

The Police were keen to run events to engage with people, and communities, in areas affected by the riots to de-escalate tensions and negative stereotypes held by both the police themselves and the local people. They had a budget to do this and seemed genuinely open about making it a two-way process. My suggestion that it may be better received and more impactful for the budget to go to trusted local community, voluntary and faith sector organisations so that they could run the events had been well-received. But when I was asked why it would be better and more impactful, I was stuck. What evidence was there that people trusting the organisation which runs these events to reduce negative stereotypes and foster good relations makes them more impactful?

As someone who, at that stage, had already worked in community relations and community cohesion for some time, I had an intuitive sense as to why this would be the case, but that wasn't really the evidence that senior officers required, or what was needed to justify a spending decision. A spending decision which would have seen money going into groups disadvantaged and disengaged areas and communities.

After the meeting, annoyed with myself ,and already passingly familiar with the field of intergroup contact, I spent some time looking at books and textbooks and journal articles and conference papers trying to find the one that had the evidence which I really wished that I had to hand in that meeting. But there wasn't one, or at least one that I could find.

I was right that intergroup contact is the process by which different groups are brought together with the aim of reducing prejudice and negative stereotypes between them, and I was right that a supporting body or organisation was needed to facilitate this and make it happen. It was also right that intergroup contact doesn't work well when there are unequal statuses within it, so maybe the Police shouldn't have been hosting an event that they are also a participant in, but there was nothing around how people trusting the organisation hosting the contact mattered to the outcome of it. The more that I read about intergroup contact, and the moderators which influence it, and what organisational trust is and means in a practical sense, the more the fields seemed like they should be linked and that one field should inform the other. This began the long process of developing a research idea and seeing it through to the completed piece of research that is this thesis.

That conducting good quality, generative research is a *"messy"* (Avner et al 2014) process which does not follow a set path from idea to implementation to firm conclusions is not often talked about in research and is often left unmentioned in peer-reviewed work (Law 2004). The brevity of journal articles often means that *"aha"* moments in research are undocumented and that the research process is a seamless one (Simovska et al 2019). This research followed a messy route and one which was led by the *"aha"* moments and as such, this thesis is written and presented in a way which follows the chronological journey of the process and builds in reflection to present an accurate log of the development of the research from the initial spark of an idea in 2011 up to the final analysis and write up in late 2020.

The research is, and always was, a generative and iterative piece where I set out to test an idea and to add to the existing literature and knowledge in the intergroup contact field. To present the work in any other way would be misleading and give the impression of a much more definite set of processes and outcomes than those which occurred. For instance, had the literature review (Chapter 2) not been able to conceptually link the fields of intergroup contact and organisational trust, then the chapters and research which follow it would either look very different or not exist at all. My *"aha"* moments (Simovska et al 2019) have been left in as have the dead ends and unexpected findings.

What is clear though, and also always has been, is that the research has a clear aim and focus. The aim of this research to is determine if, and how, participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact have an effect on the outcomes of the contact. This directly addresses the question that I was unable to answer back in 2011 and in order to test if this interdependence exists a directive hypothesis was used. The hypothesis of this research is that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and outcomes of the contact are related. Here the outcomes of the contact are, as per Allport's hypothesis (1954), changes in the levels of prejudice felt by an individual towards an outgroup or outgroups.

The research methodology was designed to test this hypothesis and, in doing so, address the aims of the research. This uses a mixed methods approach with Catalyst, a youth action programme which is a run along the principles of an intergroup contact intervention, as a case study. Beginning with a thorough review of intergroup contact and trust literature, the two fields are conceptually linked and the fieldwork element of research comprises of a quantitative correlational study to establish the existence of a relationship between participant organisational trust and prejudice reduction and a qualitative study. This

qualitative study adds a depth of understanding to the quantitative findings and offers new evidence and ideas as to how and why contact outcomes are related.

The findings of the research were not as straightforward as my initial gut feeling in Metropolitan Police Community Tension Monitoring meeting in 2011 seemed. The research does directly address, and establish, a relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact, but this relationship is far more nuanced and multi-faceted than I had expected, or the existing literature had indicated that it may be.

Core themes and findings include how organisational support for intergroup contact underpins and supports the whole process, how and why trust in supporting organisations is built and how this trust is parlayed into both enabling contact to take place at all and the effects of this trust on the outcomes of the intergroup contact. This work addresses known moderators of intergroup contact, including pre-contact anxiety and contact avoidance, and suggests that trust in the organisation supporting the contact can mitigate these.

1.1 Chapter Overview

The chapters in this thesis follow a broadly chronological and logical line from the initial review of intergroup contact literature through to final conclusions and identifying areas of future study and interest. This in reflection of the generative and iterative nature of the research. These chapters are organised as follows:

Chapter 2 opens with a critical discussion of current intergroup contact theory and literature. This reviews the different models of contact and theories behind these before moving on to discuss and appraise existing research regarding the role of the organisation supporting contact. This gives a clear definition as to what these organisations are and how they are known to impact and support contact outcomes. Concepts of trust and organisational trust, including how and why this is built and how trust is transferred between individuals and organisations are then explored. These trust models and theories are then conceptually linked to intergroup contact models and moderators to establish areas of interest in the study and the possible relationship between in the two.

Chapter 3 continues the review of literature and explores contemporary intergroup contact provision in the United Kingdom, and how the field came to be dominated by community, voluntary and faith sector providers. This review also charts the focus on reducing prejudice and negative stereotypes between individuals and communities back to the Cantle Report, which followed the disturbances in northern England in 2001, through to the present day.

This review concludes that prejudice reduction and the actual organisation delivering, what are now widely labelled as integration and social cohesion policies, are intertwined and central to social policy in the United Kingdom. This sets out a clear context for the research to take place in.

Chapter 4 takes this context one step further and places the research into a case study. This chapter explains the logic and appropriateness of choosing to use the CUF Catalyst programme as the case study for the research. This includes demonstrating the programme aims and ethos are consistent with the pre-conditions of intergroup contact, that there is good access to participants and the CUF are organisationally involved and supportive of the research. That the programme is also shown to be typical of intergroup contact provision in the UK, as per Chapter 3, is also an important aspect of the decision.

Chapter 5 restates the formal hypothesis to be studied as well as the mixed methods case study approach which is employed. This details the philosophical and methodological stances that fit with the research aims and hypothesis. The data collection methods and analysis strategies are all appraised, and a systematic review of accredited and peer-reviewed scales for measuring participant prejudice and organisational trust is conducted to determine which are to be used. This is followed by a discussion of the strengths, weaknesses and validity of these measures as well as ethical issues arising from the research and a small pilot study which tested the quantitative data collection strand of the research.

Chapter 6 is the presentation, analysis and discussion of the quantitative correlational study of the relationship between participant trust in the Catalyst programme and the prejudice reduction that results from the intervention. Before the correlational analysis is run, Catalyst is first affirmed as being a suitable programme for this study by testing the data around prejudice reduction and participant trust to ensure that there is scope for change in both and that the data is of consistent and good quality. Variables, such as pre-contact anxiety and demographic backgrounds are then tested to determine if they are confounding variables which may distort the outcomes of the main analysis. Here the results are used to frame the analysis of the qualitative data in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7 is the qualitative aspect of the research and draws on data collected in semi-structured interviews with 11 ex-participants of the Catalyst programme to complement the quantitative data by adding depth, nuance, and context to the findings. Inductive and deductive coding approaches using Microsoft Word and Excel are then employed to explore areas of likely interest which were hypothesised at the research design and literature review stage, but also to capture unexpected and emergent trends in the data, including those from

Chapter 6. The analysis and findings here detail the role played by the organisation supporting intergroup contact in establishing the required pre-conditions for good contact to take place and are highly suggestive that much of the trust in the organisation is generated by the individuals involved, in various stages, in the programme and then projected onto the wider programme as organisational trust. This has clear implications for how trust in organisations supporting intergroup contact can be built and maintained.

Chapter 8 is the concluding chapter and opens with a summary of research findings drawn from Chapters 6 and 7 and the theoretical implications of these. These findings affirm the *"special role"* (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006) that the supporting organisation has in intergroup contact and argue that participant trust in these organisations is what makes contact possible and able to work well. Prior to contact trust in these supporting organisations is built through already established trust in other individuals which is then conferred to the supporting organisation (Giddens 1990, Kroeger 2017) or moved from an already trusted organisation to the supporting one (Bachmann & Inkpen 2011). This is the groundwork that is needed for the supporting organisation to create a suitable forum for contact to take place in, and from here organisational representatives are capable of further establishing and building trust through their own values and behaviours. Participants trust and engage in the contact and this can lead to the formation of common group identities (Gaertner & Dovidio 1993) and the ingroup favouritism within these leads to the reduced bias towards outgroup members within the common group and then their wider outgroups (Hewstone & Brown 1986). This chapter also makes clear the contributions which the research makes to academic literature and knowledge and acknowledges the limitations of the study and findings. The chapter formally ends by suggesting several different areas of interest and future study which build on the findings and areas of theory which have been linked by this research.

Lastly, there is a personal reflection on my research journey and the importance of recognising that good community and social relations in the United Kingdom are dependent on the people working in the community, voluntary and faith sectors who strive to bring people together to improve their lives and make their local areas better and safer places to live.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: Intergroup Contact, Trust and Organisational Trust

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will demonstrate that there is a gap in the existing knowledge, that this research can address this and will contribute new knowledge. Secondly it will construct the framework in which the research is placed.

The aim of this research to is determine if, and how, participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact have an effect on the outcomes of the contact and this chapter will show the fusing together of two distinct fields; intergroup contact and organisational trust.

Intergroup contact is not a static field and is also one which the inner workings as a process are not yet fully understood (Stephan & Stephan 2005: 443) and by developing an understanding of the relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact this research may lead to such refinement and to help develop a more comprehensive model of intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006:768).

This chapter will begin with a clear definition of what intergroup contact is and what its aims and outcomes are. Followed by this is a review of the intergroup contact field which includes the major schisms and debate in contemporary thinking, as well as the established moderators of the effectiveness of intergroup contact. This will serve to set the research in a wider context and provide evidence of the need for further research.

The role that organisations play in supporting intergroup contact will then be defined, including examples of the types of organisations which perform this role. Existing literature will be reviewed to demonstrate both the importance of organisational support in intergroup contact and highlight the paucity of studies which focus on the role played by the supporting organisation. This is important to the research as the role played by the organisation in intergroup contact is placed at centre stage and is a potential area in which new knowledge may be generated.

The main known moderators of intergroup contact are also detailed and explored. These are variables or factors which are known to influence the outcomes of intergroup contact for and so must be acknowledged and planned for and around in research design. This is to ensure that they are not unknowingly allowed to distort findings or the relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact.

Next, the concept of organisational trust will be introduced and defined. This will include how organisational trust fits into the wider trust field, but also how it differs from other forms of trust, such as interpersonal, and why it is a relevant form to study in relation to intergroup contact. This will provide a conceptual linking that demonstrates how the benefits of high levels of organisational trust could mitigate the negative moderators of intergroup contact and make the contact more effective. This will also highlight areas of organisational trust that are of the most relevance to the research aims and will inform both research methodology and the fieldwork.

This synthesis provides the framework for the research going forwards and will make clear both the contribution to knowledge being made and the potential impact of the work. This is then placed in a contemporary, UK context in Chapter 3.

2.2 Intergroup Contact

The Contact Hypothesis was developed by Allport in his seminal 1954 book *"The Nature of Prejudice"*. In this piece Allport presented and tested the hypothesis that structured contact between different groups could lead to reduced prejudice between them.

Allport did, however, not view all contact as equal and laid out a clear criterion for what he called optimal managed intergroup contact. The conditions that Allport argued must be accounted for in order that managed intergroup contact is most likely to produce positive outcomes are as follows:

- Those engaged in the contact have equal status in it.
- Those engaged in the contact have common goals.
- There is cooperation between the two groups involved in the contact.
- The contact has the support of institutions, authorities, laws and/or custom (Pettigrew 1971).

Though the themes were discussed throughout *"The Nature of Prejudice"*, these pre-requisites were not presented as a list until later. The work continued to be expanded upon with Cook (1962) adding that contact is optimal when relationships are allowed to develop and that there is scope for acquaintance potential. The importance of this acquaintance potential was verified through over 3,800 survey respondents in four Western European countries which established that *"A situation's friendship potential is indicated as an essential condition for optimal intergroup contact"* (Pettigrew 1997: 173). That these pre-requisites for intergroup contact exist gives structure to the contact and differentiates it from

situational contact (Williams 1947) where individuals come into contact with one another in unstructured, day to day settings (Parekh 2000).

The categorization of individuals is an important aspect of the intergroup contact as this process involves bringing together individuals who either identify as, or are identified as, being from different groups. Those in one particular group will view those with the same common identity as them as a part of their ingroup, and those without this common identity as an outgroup (Allport 1954). The ability to categorize oneself and others is seen as essential to the human social function (Allport 1954, Fiske 2004) as it enables individuals to make quick decisions of how to interact based on previous experience. Negative outcomes arise from this process of decision making when individuals accentuate commonalities between themselves and ingroup members whilst exaggerating the differences between themselves and outgroup members (Turner 1981).

The ideas outlined by Allport have been refined, assessed and tested by academics since they were first published, and the Contact Hypothesis is regarded as a cornerstone of this area of social psychology (Pettigrew 1999:421). The strongest evidence yet of the effectiveness of intergroup contact is a meta-analysis of over 500 intergroup contact studies authored by Pettigrew & Tropp (2006). This meta-analysis used Allport's intergroup contact framework and demonstrated that those studies which were undertaken under terms that Allport would determine to be optimal yielded significantly greater levels of prejudice reduction than those which took place under suboptimal conditions (2006: 760).

These pre-requisites of optimal intergroup contact are of core importance to understanding how intergroup contact works most effectively and will be explored in detail in the qualitative analysis in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

However, while intergroup contact has been demonstrated to have a positive effect on reducing outgroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006,) there is on-going debate as to how exactly intergroup contact works and how it works in the most optimal manner (Dovidio, Eller & Hewstone 2011:149, Cook 1984). That in the decades following Allport, intergroup contact has since become increasingly nuanced and hard to define is the foremost criticism that can be made of both the theory and practice associated with the field. This is most clearly demonstrated in the emergence of direct intergroup contact theory and indirect intergroup contact theory.

Direct intergroup contact is where individuals enter into actual, face to face contact and spend time with a member of an outgroup (Dovidio, Eller & Hewstone 2011). Indirect contact, on the other hand, does not seek to create this experience and relies on scenarios

such as an ingroup friend having a positive contact or relationship with an outgroup member, or entirely imagined contact (Crisp & Turner 2009: 234). Pettigrew et al (2007) find that indirect contact can reduce outgroup prejudice at comparable levels in direct contact. There is nonetheless also evidence that direct contact leads to stronger attitude formation than indirect experiences, but that this is a double-edged sword (Husnu & Crisp 2010: 944) as it can also lead to stronger negative attitudes if the contact is not successful.

Even within these direct and indirect contact sub-fields, theory and practice has grown and splintered with major schisms existing within the research which lead to contradictory findings as to how intergroup contact should be optimally managed (Jackson 1993, Pettigrew 1998). The remainder of this section will offer a description of the main models and theories of intergroup contact and demonstrate how they interact, complement and, in some cases, contradict one another.

The Decategorization Model is a direct intergroup contact model which reduces salience between the two groups and seeks to place an emphasis on interpersonal behaviour so as to humanise participants beyond stereotypes of their ingroup (Brewer & Miller 1984). This 'decategorization' of individuals is hypothesised to lead to a wider reduction in negative prejudice towards outgroups as those involved in the contact share more individuating information. Vezzali et al. (2012: 438) take this approach even further by arguing that a decategorized approach to intergroup contact makes the infra-humanization of outgroups and the negatives impacts associated with it much less likely to occur.

Bettencourt, Brewer, Croak & Miller (1992) recognised that, though the model could reduce prejudice against outgroups (including, in some cases, those not involved in the contact), there are limitations to the model. The key issue with the decategorization approach is that, if complete decategorization were to occur, then it would be impossible for prejudice to be reduced against wider outgroups as those outgroups would not be identifiable. Miller (2002) found that the less salience that there is between groups in the contact, the less likely it is that prejudice reductions will be passed on to wider outgroups.

The Decategorization Model has also been viewed as somewhat assimilationist as, for it to function, it requires the temporary loss or removal of identity of those involved in the contact. This is more likely to cause a problem for minority groups or those that suffer heavy prejudice and they may be unwilling to or resentful of being expected to part with what they may see as a core part of their identity (Brown & Hewstone 2005: 264). This is particularly the case where recategorization (Gaertner & Dovidio 2000) is emphasized. Here, one element of identity which the participants in the group do not share, such as race or religion,

is downplayed and a shared identity, such as national, is emphasised to create a new, superordinate identity (Hornsey & Hogg 2000).

Closely related to the Decategorization Model is the Common Group Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio 1993, 2000). Here members of outgroups are asked to reconceive group boundaries to form a new group identity which they share with other participants to form a new "common" group. This model presupposes that ingroup favouritism in this group will lead to reduced bias and prejudice towards members. The use of language and phrasing in the Common Group Identity Model is vital with subtle shifts in participant vocabulary being regarded as evidence of common group identity emerging and supplanting outgroup differences (Gaertner, Dovidio & Bachman 1996). The most used example of this is participants shifting from describing ingroup members as "us" and outgroup members as "them" to describing members of the common group as "we".

It is plain to see how such approaches could favour majority outgroups over minority outgroups and that the latter will be more likely than the former to be expected to cede some of their core identity. Outcomes from many studies show that majority outgroup members see greater prejudice reduction towards minority outgroups than vice versa (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006, Hodson 2008) and a major reason behind this is likely to be the majority group experiencing greater level of comfort and lower levels of identity loss in engaging with the contact (Bettencourt et al. 1992). Here there are clear links to the importance of trust in the contact and trust in the institution supporting the contact as participants are being expected to make themselves vulnerable to the actions of another party (Rousseau et al.1998: 395).

The Intergroup Contact Model (Hewstone & Brown 1986) of direct intergroup contact takes an opposite approach to managing the identity of participants to that proposed by the Decategorization Model. Here it is argued that salience between groups must be maintained, and in some cases promoted. This approach can lead to greater generalisation towards a whole outgroup, as opposed to just the individuals involved in the contact and thus have wider reaching implications.

The hypothesis offered here is close to Allport's original ideas around managed intergroup contact in that a positive interaction with an outgroup member, provided that the individual is identified as belonging to an outgroup, will lead to lower levels of prejudice towards that outgroup. Paolini et al. present convincing evidence that this is the case (2004: 569).

The emphasis that this model places on the awareness of difference between individuals and the salience between groups involved in the contact means that the potentially assimilationist perceptions associated with the Decategorization Model are avoided. This

may also help those who hold their identity labels as a core part of their being to engage in the contact, as these are not being taken away from them or eroded. The risk though with this form of contact is that if negative outcomes occur, then these will potentially be projected onto whole outgroups and not just the individual outgroup members who were present in the contact (Husnu & Crisp 2010).

Other major intergroup contact models, both competing and complementary, are Imagined Contact (Turner, Crisp & Lambert 2007) and Extended Contact (Wright et al. 1997). Extended contact (Wright et al. 1997) is an indirect contact model which brings intergroup contact closer to situational contact than any other by supposing that intergroup bias and prejudice can be reduced just through the knowledge that an ingroup member has a close and positive relationship with a member of an outgroup. There is evidence that outcomes in some participants were greater through extended contact than through direct contact itself, but Mallett & Wilson (2010) argue that these attitudes towards a specific outgroup may be entirely accounted for by a reduction in anxiety between groups. Here the idea that "my friend's friend is my friend" is a powerful one. For extended contact to take place though, there must be opportunity for contact to occur and, again, this is unlikely in highly segregated societies, conflict situations or when avoidance of contact is an issue for participants (Turner et al. 2008).

Attempting to work around the restraints which prevent physical intergroup contact from taking place, imagined contact (Crisp & Turner 2009: 234) is a theory that direct intergroup contact can be simulated through individuals being asked to play out detailed scenarios in which they have vivid and positive encounters with outgroup members. These experiments have shown some positive outcomes with regards to prejudice reduction, but these are notably weaker than those seen in direct contact (Husnu & Crisp 2010: 944). Though the field of imagined contact seems a promising avenue for addressing one of the key weaknesses of intergroup contact, there are very few peer reviewed papers which have taken concept out of a laboratory setting.

The main contribution that imagined contact has, to date, made to the field of intergroup contact is as a preparatory exercise for other forms of intergroup contact (Stathi et al 2012: 245). Imagined contact recognises that pre-contact anxiety is the major predictor of sub-optimal contact outcomes in participants (Stephan & Stephan 1985) and gives scope for participants to prepare themselves for actual contact in a controlled environment. This has been demonstrated to lead to greater self-efficacy and reduced anxiety in participants towards future contact (Vezzali et al 2012, Stathi 2012).

Given the conflicting and contradictory practices and research in the field, it may well be the case that intergroup contact is still in an advanced stage of infancy and that the field will, over time, split into more differentiated practices, or that some will wither and cease to be used (Dixon, Durheim & Tredoux 2005).

Finally, it must be stressed that situational contact (Williams 1947) between different groups is not the same as structured intergroup contact and it is pertinent to note that, despite the well-established differences between intergroup contact and situational contact, that many vocal critics of intergroup contact theory, such as Putnam (2000) are actually presenting arguments against the effectiveness of situational contact rather than intergroup contact.

Putnam's core arguments against contact are that increased levels of diversity have led to lower levels of social trust and social capital and here he cites diversity (and therefore probable incidents of situational contact) as increasing in residential, social and workplace settings. Informal, situational contact taking place in these settings is clearly not subject to the requirements of Allport's theory.

South Africa and the United States are examples of two countries which have seen different groups live in close proximity for extended periods of time but are among the most racially segregated in the world (Pettigrew & Tropp 2011: 2). Contact alone is not enough to reduce prejudice and can, in fact, lead to heightened prejudice and other negative outcomes (Hewstone 2003). High quality intergroup contact has been shown to increase intergroup co-operation, reduce prejudice and reduce intergroup bias (Nier et al 2001; Viki et al. 2006), and this is not the case with situational contact.

Whilst intergroup contact is distinct from situational contact (Williams 1947) and has been regarded as such since the publication of Allport's treatise, the degree to which intergroup contact can be measured in settings in which situational contact occurs is a challenge which the field has yet to adequately address (Tropp & Molina 2012). Introducing divisions into existing groups to promote salience (Islam & Hewstone 1993) risks creating or inflaming tensions, whereas playing down or ignoring the differences between groups to group identity over salience (Vezzali et al. 2012: 438) put individual's personal identities, and therefore their willingness to participate in the contact, at risk (Brown & Hewstone 2005: 264).

Such an issue exists too in assuming that direct contact is likely to be possible or desirable for participants (Crisp & Turner 2012: 131). Aside from any prejudices on the part of participants in mixing with an outgroup, there are issues around participant safety and their continued inclusion in their ingroup. In many highly segregated areas or conflict zones, the

ability to make positive contact with someone who is different to yourself is not realistic or, for some, desirable. Here the potential benefits of direct contact are lost.

2.3 Organisations Supporting Intergroup Contact

The support of authorities, institutions, laws and customs supporting the contact is referred to specifically by Pettigrew (1971) when listing the pre-requisites for intergroup contact as set out by Allport (1954). However, there has been little discussion since as to what is meant by these supporting bodies and frameworks. That these bodies are involved is an important differentiator between intergroup contact and situational contact and so it is necessary to offer some definitions to provide clarity to the scope of this research.

A major finding in Pettigrew & Tropp's meta-analysis (2006) was that the only pre-requisite that was an ever present in all of the 134 studies that met Allport's requirements was the support of authorities, institutions, laws and/or customs. This is because all of the studies were structured, and structured programmes require some kind of organising or convening body. The same meta-analysis evidences that structured intergroup contact is more effective at reducing prejudice than unstructured contact (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006: 761) and reaffirms that structured programmes need a supporting body to take place. This grants extra importance (or a *"special role"*) to organisational support in intergroup contact reducing prejudice between outgroups and is a driving factor behind the conceptualisation of this research. It is a clear gap in the field of intergroup contact that the role of the organisation supporting or facilitating intergroup contact has been overlooked as a variable in both research and practice.

This area of support for intergroup contact can be split into two fields; one contains organisations and consists of the authorities or institutions whilst the other is comprised of legislation and norms that cover laws and customs.

The types of organisations which may support intergroup contact were listed and these include *"women's clubs, service clubs, or churches, to large-scale national organizations, such as the Anti-Defamation League, Friends of Democracy Inc., National Association for the Advancement of Colored People"* (Allport 1954: 461). More contemporary practitioner organisations that support intergroup contact include churches, mosques and other faith centres, schools, local community groups and national charities and NGOs. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Organisations are defined as *being "A consciously coordinated social unit, composed of two or more people that function on a relatively continuous basis to achieve a common goal or*

set of goals" (Kamawi 2015) and this is a strong fit with both the supporting organisations listed by Allport and those supporting intergroup contact today. This research focusses on the role played by organisations supporting intergroup contact rather than the legislations and norms supporting it because of the need for an organisation to be present in facilitating structured intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). This is not the case with legislation and/or norms.

The *"special role"* that Pettigrew & Tropp assign to organisational support for intergroup contact (2006: 761)) exists because by enabling structured intergroup contact to take place the supporting organisation can ensure that other pre-requisites of intergroup contact are fulfilled. For instance, the organisation plays a key role in ensuring that equal status and cooperation in the contact exist, whilst also establishing norms of behaviour as to how those involved in the contact should act and interact (Yarrow, Campbell & Yarrow 1958). It is hard to imagine how equal status between groups involved in contact could be made possible without there being an organisation supporting and guiding the contact (Pettigrew & Tropp 2011). This is particularly the case in heavily segregated societies or conflict situations, or how groups working co-operatively towards a common goal could be facilitated (Walker & Crogan 1998) without a third party involved the contact.

There is a paucity of studies which focus on the role of the organisation supporting intergroup contact and this makes drawing firm conclusions about the role of the supporting organisations as a mediator of contact outcomes challenging. There is a clear gap in both existing research and knowledge here. However, there is some evidence that organisations taking positive and proactive approaches to reducing prejudice does play a key role in determining a positive outcome in relation to this. For instance, a workplace study by Koschate & Van Dick (2011) shows that an organisation supporting intergroup contact in situations of prejudice, segregation or discrimination does provide an initial lead which participants can follow. Additional to this, the role of schools as the supporting organisation and providing a guiding steer towards positive intergroup contact is perhaps the most well documented (Longshore & Wellisch 1982, Molina & Wittig 2006). Here we see that where a school in the United States is seen to positively value intergroup relations, pupils are more likely to seek intergroup relationships out (Longshore & Wellisch 1982). This is despite all schools being covered by the same legislation around de-segregation and so here, clearly, it is the organisational support of the school rather than the support of federal and state legislation that makes the difference in outcomes.

Strong organisational support for intergroup contact is, however, not a panacea as Sherif (1966) warns that organisational support when given to intergroup contact under conditions

of unequal status or competition within the contact could negate any positive benefits. This emphasises the value in exploring whether or not the support of an organisation that is not trusted by the parties involved in the contact will do the same.

2.4 Moderators of Intergroup Contact and Negative Contact

In the intergroup contact context, the outcome of the contact is the measured change, positive or negative, in prejudice towards outgroups and individuals from outgroups. Although Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) found in their meta-analysis that intergroup contact, under Allport's preconditions, did lead to greater levels of prejudice reduction than contact instigated without the preconditions, they grouped all forms and practices of intergroup contact together. Therefore, they were unable to show definitively which models of contact (if any) are more effective than others. The intergroup contact field has many competing theories and many publications supporting one whilst attempting to refute others, but it does lack an impartial comparative piece.

The key finding from the 2006 meta-analysis was that the more of the 5 preconditions which were met, the greater the level of prejudice reduction seen. What was not explored in the meta-analysis, but has been elsewhere, are moderators of intergroup contact away from the pre-requisites and the model used, with many studies have dedicated to uncovering and quantifying moderators of the effectiveness of intergroup contact. These studies align with this research in seeking to develop the understanding of what makes contact more and less effective in reducing prejudice.

Negative contact is very simply contact which, either purposefully or accidentally, creates a negative experience for one or more of the participants involved in it. Negative contact is strongly linked with the development, or enhancement, of negative attitudes towards outgroup members. Graf, Paolini, & Rubin (2014) demonstrated in a large study that the impact which negative contact has on attitudes, outcomes and behaviours is consistently stronger and longer lasting than the impact of positive contact. The same study also concluded that negative intergroup contact is less common in real world scenarios than positive intergroup contact. Paolini et al. (2004) also demonstrated that previous positive intergroup contact experiences with an outgroup can mitigate against the impacts of negative intergroup contact with members of the same outgroup.

Work exploring the negative side of intergroup contact is in its infancy, but the area has attracted a great deal of interest and the number of publications specifically focussed on negative contact have increased hugely in recent years. Previous work on negative contact was usually framed as negative outcomes being an accidental by-product of endeavouring

towards positive contact but, by studying negative contact explicitly, there has been new insight into just how intergroup contact works and what influences, or moderates, the impact of it.

High levels of anxiety are the major predictor in sub-optimal and negative contact outcomes in intergroup contact (Crisp & Turner 2012, Mallett & Wilson 2010, Stathi et al. 2012, Vezzali et al. 2012). Stephan & Stephan (1985) also postulate that pre-contact anxiety is a major factor in the avoidance of contact. Low levels of self-efficacy are the most common cause of pre-contact anxiety amongst participants (Turner, Crisp & Lambert 2007) and this links closely with social embarrassment. Here, individuals who are unfamiliar with a situation that they find themselves in enjoy situations less (or avoid them entirely) as they fear making a faux pas. Rivers (2011) had Japanese English language students undertake preparatory exercises ahead of meeting native English-speaking teachers to help allay feelings of anxiety and inferiority and saw positive outcomes as a result. This links closely with the practice in imagined contact of “priming” participants for positive contact with an outgroup (Crisp & Turner 2009).

Whilst little research has taken place comparing moderators of contact across intergroup contact models, there has been more two decades of research into the Intergroup Contact Model (Hewstone & Brown 1986) which has shown strong evidence of its ability, when managed according to the criteria set out by Allport, to reduce prejudice amongst groups. Of equal importance here is that Brown & Hewstone (2005) acknowledge that the model is not without flaws and there are insights from this regarding moderators of contact which are generalisable to the intergroup contact field as a whole.

Similarly, Tezanos, Bratt & Brown (2010) demonstrated that high levels of anxiety about intergroup contact taking place prior to the contact beginning can lead to increased levels of prejudice after the contact. Whilst this has implications for all models of intergroup contact, be they direct or indirect, this is especially problematic in a model, such as the Intergroup Contact Model, that places a heavy emphasis on salience between parties. That such salience is apparent and encouraged can also increase the likelihood of stereotypes being applied. Harwood (2010) recognises this and confirms that the heavy emphasis on the salience between the groups can cause anxiety in participants. This often has the greatest impact on majority outgroup members who are fearful or appearing rude or ignorant of minority outgroup practices or of being seen to “talk down” to minority groups. Not only does this create anxiety in the majority outgroup members, but often it can lead to them adopting a more standoffish approach to outgroup members that is interpreted as a show of superiority. Thus, this vicious cycle negates any positive impacts of the intergroup contact.

Building on these findings, Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin (2010) tested the idea of member to group generalization in which the actions or behaviours of one salient outgroup member are projected by others onto the rest of that individual's outgroup. This is, in effect, a form of informed stereotyping and is particularly relevant to negative contact. The research saw an actor from an ethnic minority group meet with unknowing participants from different ethnic backgrounds to the actor. The actor was instructed to interact with some participants in a warm and friendly manner and to act in an unfriendly and terse manner with others. Participants were then asked to complete a questionnaire about their experience with the actor. Those in the group who experienced the negative behaviour from the actor were significantly more likely to mention the actor's ethnicity in their responses. Here we see that negative experiences promote salience and make people more conscious of difference.

Another moderator of intergroup contact outcome is the circumstance in which contact takes place. This data, collected in far few studies than the typical laboratory findings, have sought to recreate the circumstances which gave Allport cause to develop his original theory. The Nature of Prejudice (1954) was developed and written following Allport's experiences working in the US Navy during and after World War 2. Here he observed that white sailors who had no experience of working with black sailors, but whom had been forced to work on desegregated ships, warmed over time to working and socialising with their black crewmates and eventually began to treat white and black crewmates in the same manner. The attitudinal shifts of black crewmates were not observed as black sailors had no option but to serve on desegregated ships. Hodson (2008) sought to replicate this by studying prison inmates exposed to Allport's preconditions and their attitudes over time towards other races and then compared these to the general population. The key findings here were that participants who had less choice in engaging with other outgroups (under intergroup contact and not situational conditions) experienced greater levels of prejudice reduction than those who did not. This is an interesting, though not yet replicated, finding which could relate closely to this research. Though participation in this research must be voluntary, those participants in institutions which compel the intergroup contact to take place may experience more positive outcomes. This also links with the findings of Longshore & Wellisch (1982) that pupils in schools which positively promoted intergroup relations were more active in seeking them out.

Similarly, intergroup contact, as per Allport (1954) requires that equal status is maintained between groups during the contact. This, in real world scenarios, is often either an impossibility or a complete façade (Riordan & Ruggerio 1980). Though studies have shown that establishing equal status during contact in situations of societal inequality, through equal opportunities to make decisions and the sharing of resources (Robinson & Preston 1976)

have helped to reduce prejudice (Schofield & Eurich-Fulcer 2003), such practices have also been observed to run the very real risk of being seen to ignore or denigrate the inequalities in the wider society (Foster 1986). It is right to ask how well received attempts to establish equality between groups in contact sessions are when members of both groups are well aware that the equality ends when they leave the room. No studies on the opinions of minority outgroup members which address this have been published. Given that the dangers of contact taking place in situations of unequal status or competition between groups and subsequent increases in prejudice between them (Sherif 1966), this is a real gap in the research and one which this thesis could potentially address.

Again, the quest for equal status in intergroup contact scenarios reinforces the importance of strong institutional support for the contact. In addition to enabling structured intergroup contact to take place this *"special role"* (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006) of the supporting organisation helps ensure that other pre-requisites of intergroup contact are fulfilled whilst also setting norms and boundaries of behaviour for those participating (Yarrow, Campbell & Yarrow 1958). Similarly, an organisation or third party facilitating the contact is able to set the scene for equal status within the contact (Pettigrew & Tropp 2011) and to steer the two outgroups towards cooperation and working towards a common goal (Walker & Crogan 1998). The role that the organisation running the intergroup contact plays is elevated in importance when the outgroups involved do not, or cannot, usually mix. Examples of this include conflict situations or in areas of high segregation.

The criterion of intergroup contact is clear that in the contact situation both groups should be pursuing a common goal or interest (Pettigrew 1971), yet this too is not without risk in terms of producing sub-optimal or negative outcomes. Amir & Garti (1977) found that where competing parties, in terms of interest or resource, were brought together that prejudice and associated tensions were likely to increase. However, little regard is paid by Allport or others to the situations outside of the contact. Two opposing groups are unlikely to be able to put aside competition completely and become entirely immersed in the contact scenario. Here intergroup contact falls short of being applicable in many real-world situations.

Regardless of the fact that the vast majority of social psychology research, and within this, intergroup contact research is conducted in controlled, laboratory experiments (Howitt & Cramer 2008: 55), intergroup contact is a process which, quite clearly, does not operate in a vacuum and is one which is sensitive to external influences. Even the most carefully controlled laboratory experiments have found that seemingly minor variables can have surprisingly significant effects on the outcome of the contact. West & Bruckmuller (2013), for instance, found that where instructions for intergroup contact scenarios were made difficult

to read or understand, either through challenging font or obtuse language, that participants either saw lower levels of prejudice reduction or increased levels of prejudice. Whilst this finding may seem relatively trivial, findings such as these do draw into question how relevant and applicable laboratory experiments are in producing intergroup contact findings which are generalisable and transferable to real-world contact.

As intergroup contact theory and research becomes more refined and detailed with increasingly specific focusses on, for example, the salience of identities (Brewer & Miller 1984) contact outside of laboratory settings becomes increasing difficult, if not impossible, to manage and practice, and the risks inherent in creating sub-optimal or negative contact grow. In many instances it is impossible to know all of the potential moderators of contact, let alone account for them. Brown & Hewstone (2005) acknowledge that their models of intergroup contact are unable to moderate for external influences such as friendships with members of outgroups or early exposure to them. Thus, the role that outgroup friendships can play in reducing prejudice are not measured or moderated for and, importantly, may be strong influences on positive and negative prejudice reduction caused by intergroup emotions. Leading figures in the intergroup contact field, such as Pettigrew (1998) and Stephan & Stephan (1996), have repeatedly made this point.

That many of the moderators of intergroup contact are either not yet fully understood or known at all is typical of a research field which is not yet fully developed (Dixon, Durheim & Tredoux 2005). Identifying gaps in knowledge around these moderators and potential moderators is key to improving intergroup contact as both a field of research and practice.

This need and acknowledged gap positions research, such as this, which develops the understanding of moderators and seeks to simplify practice across intergroup contact fields very well. The next section of this chapter reviews the relevant key concepts in trust and organisational trust and conceptually links these to the known moderators of intergroup contact which are already outlined.

2.5 Trust and Organisational Trust

Trust is widely accepted to be *"the willingness of an individual to make themselves vulnerable to the action of another party based on positive expectations of the motivation and behaviour of that party"* (Rousseau et al. 1998, Mayer et al. 1995). This definition fits with the majority of trust literature across fields of interpersonal, organisational, inter-organisational and system trust, and so will be the definition used in this research unless otherwise stated.

Trust is widely seen as a psychological state (Kramer 1999: 571). Attempts to understand the cognitive processes that constitute this state have shown a strong link with two of the strongest negative moderators of intergroup contact effectiveness; anxiety (Stephan et al. 2002) and intergroup threat (Paolini et al. 2004). Robinson (1996: 576) proffered a definition of trust that includes the idea that expectations of the actions of the referent must not be detrimental to the origin's interests. This runs in-line with the contact condition that there must be mutual co-operation towards a common goal in the contact and against the negative moderator of intergroup threat that is exacerbated by competition. Other definitions (Lewis & Weigert 1985, Luhmann 1988, Rousseau at al. 1998) talk of the origin having positive expectations with regards to the actions of the referent. Trust is related to positive expectations whilst anxiety is related to negative or uncertain expectation, and so the literature suggests that trust could have an effect on anxiety as a moderator of intergroup contact.

This research deals with individuals making an organisation the referent of their trust and so interpersonal trust, the trust relationship between individuals, is not a suitable trust model to use. Similarly, inter-organisational trust and system trust deal with much wider relationships than that between an individual and an organisation, and so is not fully suitable. Indeed, inter-organisational trust is more likely to be linked to the aspect laws and customs aspect of supporting contact than the organisational side. The legislative and legal underpinning of inter-organisational trust is recognised by Child & Mollering (2003) and Bachmann (2001) stresses the importance of wider frameworks and norms in which the relationship takes place.

It is likely that some aspects of interpersonal and inter-organisational trust will feature in participant perceptions though and this will be studied in the qualitative analysis in Chapter 7.

Organisational trust is a clear fit in the context of the research as it covers the trust that an individual feels towards an organisation (Mollering, Bachmann & Lee 2004: 557). Currall & Inkpen (2002) state their belief that the interaction between an individual and an organisation is an appropriate level at which to study organisational trust. When assessing the role that a participant's trust towards an organisation supporting intergroup contact plays in the outcomes of that contact, it is clear that the organisation must be the referent of trust. Here there are clear parallels with interpersonal trust, though Zaheer et al. (1998: 142) warn against the dangers of anthropomorphizing. The application human characteristics and behaviours to organisations blurs lines between an organisation as a structure and the individuals who represent the organisation and the values that they seek to project (Ashforth,

Schinoff & Brickson 2020) and this, in turn, makes the distinction between interpersonal and organisational trust harder for individuals to recognise and to distinguish.

Organisational trust is multi-faceted in that different stakeholders will look for different attributes in an organisation on which to base their trust in it (Sheppard & Sherman 1998, Mollering, Bachmann & Lee 2004: 557). This includes whether the stakeholders are internal or external to the organisation (Pirson & Malhotra 2010) or the degree of uncertainty involved in the relationship (Luhmann 1979: 2000).

That needs with regards to attributing trust to an organisation are, in part at least, determined by one's relationship with that organisation is well established (Sheppard & Sherman 1998, Zey 1998). Pirson & Malhotra (2010) build on this by developing a framework of internal and external stakeholders and assessing the differing needs and expectations of each. Internal stakeholders represent the organisation and may be employees or shareholders whereas external stakeholders are likely to be customers or service users (Freeman 1984 cited in Pirson & Malhotra 2010). Both of these categorisations have relevance to the research. Participants in intergroup contact could be doing so within an organisation that they represent and therefore be internal stakeholders, however it is more likely that they will be doing so as external stakeholders.

Pirson & Malhotra (2010) found that external stakeholders were more likely to base their trust in an organisation on perceived technical competence and that those who had shallow or fleeting relationships with an organisation were likely to base their trust to some degree on perceived integrity. Here shallow depth relationships are defined as those in which there is no pre-existing relationship between parties and where there is a very incomplete knowledge of the abilities, practices and intentions of the referent whilst deeper depth relationships are those which have formed over time and based on first-hand knowledge of the referent (Shepperd & Sherman 1998).

Perceived benevolence of the organisation only became an important factor for those with deep relationships with the organisation. Perceived transparency was also of greater importance to those with deep as opposed to shallow relationships (Pirson & Malhotra 2010: 1090). The conclusion here is that those organisations which have an interest in managing trust with their stakeholders should be meaningful of the type relationship that they have with those stakeholders (Pirson & Malhotra 2010: 1091) and of the information that they make available to them. Participation in intergroup contact under ideal conditions should be voluntary, and so the idea that participants are customers or service users is transferable and this work can act as a guide as to how the organisation seeking to engage may wish to present itself to participants should it wish to gain their trust.

Mayer et al. (1995) present three key organisational attributes assessed by individuals when assessing trustworthiness. These are ability, benevolence and integrity (otherwise known as ABI). In an organisational context, ability covers the technical competence of an organisation to perform tasks expected of it, benevolence is the trustor's expectation of the organisations concern for his well-being and integrity is the extent to which the trustor believes that the organisation will act in an open, honest and fair manner. There is a general consensus of the core indicators of perceived trustworthiness (Rousseau et al. 1998) and that these are similar to ABI, though identification (Lewicki and Bunker 1996, Pirson & Malhotra 2010), openness (Mishra 1996) and predictability (Gabarro 1978, Dasgupta 1988) have also been identified as potential facets of perceived trustworthiness. Predictability as an indicator of trustworthiness must be given a caveat in as much as all predictability does not generate trust. If an individual or an organisation can be predictably relied on to betray the vulnerability of the trustor, this will likely not lead to a trust relationship (Mayer et al. 1995: 714). Rather, predictability of the referent could be seen to underpin other trustworthy behaviours.

Though trustworthiness is distinct from trust in contemporary literature (Mayer et al. 1995, Colquitt, Scott & LePine 2007) it is generally agreed that perceived trustworthiness is an antecedent of trust (Flores & Solomon 1998). Therefore, trustworthy behaviours are of importance to this work as they are key indicators to a would-be trustor assessing whether or not to place their trust in an organisation. Closely linked to how individuals decide whether to place their trust in an organisation is how they gather the information that they need to make this assessment (Ferrin & Dirks 2003). This varies from individual to individual but is likely to include the organisation's behaviour in previous interactions (Kramer 1999), the reputation of the organisation (Kreps & Wilson 1982).

When making contact with organisations, individuals are likely to encounter representatives (or internal stakeholders) of the organisation and use these individuals as being representative of the wider organisation (Inkpen & Currall 1998). Giddens (1990) proposes similar when discussing 'facework'. Here trust must be placed in experts, or those representing systems, before they can be placed in the system itself. This potentially blurs the lines between interpersonal and organisational trust, however Fombrun (1996) presents the case that the actions of internal stakeholders form a reputational umbrella under which both the individual and collective actions of those representing the organisation sit together.

There have, to date, been very few papers that research the role of organisational trust in intergroup contact and none published which look at the role of external stakeholders and the role that their trust in the organisation plays in contact. This is a major gap in the

literature and knowledge base. However, Brewer (1981, 1996) presents the case for the existence of category-based distrust. Where individuals within an organisation were categorised into distinct groups (as per Hewstone & Brown's Intergroup Contact Model) those individuals viewed those from outgroups as being less honest, reliable and trustworthy than individuals in their ingroup. The referent of trust measured in Brewer's work is outgroups and not the organisation itself, but it is of real significance to the research that distrust and synonyms of two of the characteristics commonly assessed regarding trustworthiness (integrity and predictability) are prominent in the results. This is suggestive that there is a crossover between the fields of intergroup contact and trust.

Predictability is potentially an important concept in the linking of trust and intergroup contact theory. Anxiety is one of the main moderators of the effectiveness of intergroup contact (Stephan & Stephan 2005) and at its root is an uncertainty on the part of the participant as to what will happen and how. Knowing what to expect in a contact scenario could remove this uncertainty and also mitigate risk of social embarrassment, as it would allow participants to rehearse or think through their actions beforehand. The ability to mentally rehearse scenarios has been demonstrated to increase self-efficacy and in turn reduce pre-contact anxiety (Crisp & Turner 2012: 160-164, Stathi et al. 2012: 243). A participant engaging with the perception that the contact scenario is backed by organisational values that protect them and give recourse in the event of problems occurring is key (Yarrow, Campbell & Yarrow 1958).

A further case for trust playing an important role in intergroup contact scenarios is the principle that trust can act as a mechanism for the reduction of social complexity (Luhmann 1979). The importance of pre-judgment rubrics is discussed too in the intergroup contact field in that they allow humans beings to function effectively socially by making snap decisions (Allport 1954, Fiske 2004); by categorising others into groups or types, individuals are able to know how to interact based on previous experiences. Research around the use of these rubrics and the reduction of social complexities in the trust field tend to be limited to the inter-organisational (Bachmann & Inkpen 2011) and interpersonal trust fields (Meyerson et al. 1996). However, the work of Kramer (1999) tells us that trust with organisation as the referent can be built on previous experiences of third-party interactions and suggests that there is a link to the field of organisational trust too. Mollering (2005: 23) posits that trust can lubricate action by moving decision making away from being a rationalisation exercise to being an institutionalised interaction. The use of these pre-judgement trust rubrics in the intergroup contact field could be hugely beneficial, if established, as they could potentially allow for trust to be conferred from an already trusted organisation (or representative of) onto an outgroup or outgroup member, thus reducing pre-contact anxiety. Establishing the extent

to which this occurs, if it all, and the impact that it has on contact outcomes is an obvious contribution to knowledge and is a strand which the fieldwork will seek to address.

2.6 Bringing Intergroup Contact and Organisational Trust Together

This literature review demonstrates that there are clear links between the fields of intergroup contact and organisational trust. The most effective intergroup contact programmes, with regards to the aim of prejudice reduction between outgroups, are those which are structured, and organisational support is an ever-present in structured contact (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). With organisations as an ever-present, this means that there is an area of research that is of practical and theoretical use in studying the role that organisations play.

The section also enables the drawing together of areas where known moderators of intergroup contact outcomes may be related to participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact, and these are likely to be areas of interest in research design and data analysis in this thesis. A clear example is that, in addition to being a major cause of contact avoidance (Stephan & Stephan 1985), pre-contact anxiety is one of the major predictors of contact outcomes. This is particularly with regards to negative outcomes whereby participant prejudice towards out-groups is seen to increase because of the intervention (Tezanos, Bratt & Brown 2010). Such inter-group anxiety stems from participant fear of rejection, discrimination or social embarrassment (Rivers 2011) during the contact and are seen as a *"poison"* (Plant & Devine 2003) which can move intergroup contact away from beneficial outcomes towards one of mutual hostility or suspicion. This can create a negative spiral whereby individuals either become more prone to contact avoidance or they enter into contact scenarios with greater levels of anxiety and produce self re-inforced negative outcomes.

Intergroup contact, when managed successfully, has long been hypothesised as a factor in reducing intergroup anxiety (Islam & Hewstone 2003) with the participant then going on to more actively seek out interactions with outgroup members in the future (Turner, West & Christie 2013). Studies have shown that this is the case for both direct contact scenarios (Voci & Hewstone 2003) and indirect contact scenarios (Turner, Crisp et al 2007). The issue, however, remains that would-be participants in the contact are likely to either avoid the scenario entirely or to take damaging levels of pre-contact anxiety into it if they are uncomfortable or worried about the contact. Thus, ensuring that levels of pre-contact anxiety in participants is minimised prior to the contact scenario taking place may be a key factor in producing positive outcomes.

Trust is widely seen as a psychological state (Kramer 1999: 571) and attempts to understand the cognitive processes which govern this have shown a strong link with two of the strongest negative moderators of intergroup contact effectiveness; anxiety (Stephan et al. 2002) and intergroup threat (Paolini et al. 2004). Kenworthy & Jones (2009) successfully link trust and anxiety by viewing them as being co-dependent: They see that trust is a complex judgement that entails risk and uncertainty whilst anxiety, as a psychological state, is dominated by uncertainty. Anxiety differs from other negative states, such as anger or sadness, precisely because anxiety is marked by levels of situational uncertainty (Smith & Ellsworth 1985). Therefore, the act of extending trust to an individual or group should go some way towards reducing uncertainty about their future actions and therefore anxiety about these.

The work of Kenworthy & Jones (2009) places little focus on the effect of anxiety on depersonalized trust towards outgroups, rather it focuses on the outcomes towards ingroup members. In situations, real or imagined, of uncertainty and therefore anxiety, individuals feel increased levels of depersonalized trust towards their ingroup members and are prone to positively stereotyping here. The authors speculate, but do not test, the hypothesis that in a process parallel to this inducing anxiety will decrease outgroup trust.

The focus on intergroup contact research which brings together intergroup contact and trust views this almost solely through the lens of interpersonal trust, and nearly all intergroup contact research to date, which has any explicit focus on or mention of trust, does so with focus on outgroup trust. Lewicki, McAllister & Bies (1998) offer a definition of outgroup trust as being the positive expectations of an individual regarding the behaviour of an outgroup towards either them as an individual or towards their ingroup. This fits with the wider trust literature (Rousseau et al. 1998, Mayer et al. 1995) and was further developed in a peacekeeping and mediation context with the idea of trust being demonstrated when an ingroup makes itself vulnerable to the actions of an outgroup by accepting conflict mediation or proposing conciliatory measures (Blackstock 2001).

Much of the research too views outgroup trust as being a state which is developed through the contact process (Tam et al 2009), and not as a variable with can mediate the outcome of the contact. Crisp & Turner (2009) draw a parallel between the outcomes of direct contact (Dovidio, Eller & Hewstone 2011) and the outcomes of the development of outgroup trust. These are namely that a positive interaction (Crisp & Turner 2009), or series of, in which the behaviour of an outgroup or outgroup member can be observed and seen to be positive, predictable and dependable (Kerr, Stattin & Trost 1999) will lead to improved attitudes to, and future cooperation, with the other.

Beyond intergroup contact specific literature, trust is presented in different ways which can be applied to the interplay of intergroup contact and trust. They have, however, never been studied together with organisational trust as a variable in intergroup contact outcomes and work which does link intergroup contact and trust is often rather incidental in building this link, rather than explicit in seeking to study it. Social Identification Theory (Tajfel & Turner 2004) postulates that when an individual self identifies as an ingroup member, a process of depersonalization fundamentally changes their perception of both themselves and others based on their ingroup identity and the identity and status of the outgroup members or "others". This in turn leads to outcomes such the formation of ingroup trust (Hogg & Moreland 1993) or, pertinently, intergroup distrust (Insko & Schopler 1998).

Such depersonalized trust plays an almost unspoken role in intergroup contact theories and practices which deliberately promote salience between individuals so as make outcomes from the contact more generalisable to outgroups. A major example of this is the Intergroup Contact Model (Hewstone & Brown 1986). It is argued that salience between groups must be maintained, and in some cases promoted. This approach can lead to greater generalisation towards a whole outgroup, as opposed to just the individuals involved in the contact and thus have wider reaching implications. This model is close to Allport's original ideas around managed intergroup contact in that a positive interaction with an outgroup member, provided that the individual is identified as belonging to an outgroup, will lead to lower levels of prejudice towards that outgroup. Paolini et al. present convincing evidence that this is the case (2004: 569).

Tam et al (2009) do stress that, in their research in Northern Ireland at least, outgroup trust is a greater predictor of positive behavioural tendencies towards outgroup members than interpersonal trust. Outgroup trust can be seen as a form of depersonalized trust as, where trust is depersonalized, a social category or network (or in the case of contact theory membership of an ingroup or outgroup) becomes the proxy by which the individual is perceived. Through this lens individuals make decisions on the likelihood of an exchange or interaction being beneficial to them and of the risk of making oneself vulnerable to the actions of another (Yuki et al 2005).

In short, existing literature and research strongly suggests that there should be some link between participants levels of trust in the organisation facilitating intergroup contact and that this is possibly through a known moderator of contact, such as pre-contact anxiety. This link has, however, not been established or tested, no papers have been published on this and it remains a gap in knowledge. Addressing this gap is the core aim of this research.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has taken my initial belief that there may be some kind of crossover between the level of trust that an individual feels towards an organisation and the outcome of that organisation facilitating intergroup contact scenarios with the individual and has laid the foundations for further study and exploration of why and how this may be the case. The important role played by the organisation in facilitating intergroup contact is very clear from the work of Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) but, at the same time, this role seems to be taken for granted and somewhat under-researched. Intergroup contact is an ever evolving field in which the workings are not yet fully understood and so focussing on the role of the organisation is addressing a clear and obvious gap in the knowledge which leaves a great deal of scope for potentially improving and refining intergroup contact practice.

Trust, and in particular organisational trust, is an appropriate lens to study the role of the organisation through as this literature review has demonstrated that there appear to be clear conceptual links between the predictors and building blocks of trust and known moderators of intergroup contact. For instance, where positive trust is a belief in the future behaviours and intentions of another party, anxiety, a known predictor of poor intergroup contact (Stephan & Stephan 1985, Vezzali et al 2012, Stathi et al. 2012), represents an unknown with regards to the future behaviours and intentions of another party. Similarly, positive expectations of the behaviours and intentions of the supporting organisation can potentially mitigate against a participant's fear of social embarrassment (Rivers 2011) or there being an unequal status in the contact (Sherif 1966).

The critique that intergroup contact has become so refined and laden with non-essential preconditions that is has become unworkable in the real world (Pettigrew, 1998; Stephan & Stephan, 1996) is valid and, possibly reflective of this, there is a dominance of laboratory based research experience in the intergroup contact field. Published intergroup contact papers are typical of other fields under the social psychology umbrella and typically see around 80% of the research conducted in laboratory, as opposed to real world, settings (Howitt & Cramer 2008: 55). That these experiments, in most cases, use students as their participants (West et al. 1992) does draw in question how replicable the findings are likely to be in real world scenarios.

Having now demonstrated that there is a gap in the existing knowledge that this research will address and developing the framework for doing so, this research will now aim to produce findings which have high external validity and which are generalisable to other situations, organisations or participants (Aronson et al 2009). This avoids the pitfalls of experimental research which is impractical in real world contact settings.

With this in mind, Chapter 3 will position the research within contemporary social relations and cohesion practice and policy in the United Kingdom with a view to the research taking place in a real-world case study setting, as opposed to laboratory conditions.

Chapter 3: Contemporary Intergroup Contact Provision in the UK

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has established that, despite organisations involved in supporting intergroup contact having a "special role" (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006) in the contact process, a gap in knowledge around their role as a moderator of intergroup contact outcomes exists. Also defined were the type of organisations which support intergroup contact. In a present-day context in the UK these include churches, mosques and other faith centres, schools, local community groups, national charities and NGOs.

The Literature Review also made clear the difference between deliberate, structured intergroup contact and every-day or situational contact (Williams 1947, Parekh 2006).

Therefore, any research into the knowledge gap of the effect that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact has on the outcomes of the contact must take place in the context of organisations which are deliberately and actively promoting intergroup contact with aims consistent with the outcomes expected by Allport (1954). An organisation in this context is defined relatively interchangeably with an institution (March, Friedberg & Arellano 2011) in that it is a coordinated social unit which functions towards a common goal, or goals, on a continuous basis (Kawami 2015).

Over the last two decades, the faith sector in the United Kingdom has been promoted by both itself and successive governments as being a delivery agent for social policy, and this has seen the role played by faith-based organisations, groups and charities increase inline with government funding and profile (Dinham 2012). This has particularly been the case with regards to integration and social cohesion policies, and programmes, where faith-based actors are regarded as being trusted, well-engaged figures with local presence (Dinham & Lowndes 2008). Much of this work has been based on the community cohesion agenda, which was adopted in the early 2000s. Cantle explicitly links prejudice, defined by him as including negative stereotyping and a fear of the "other" (Cantle 2001: 101), with poor levels of cohesion. Therefore, any credible attempt to promote cohesion must also be one which aims to address prejudice and negative stereotyping between societal groups.

Much of my professional work is in evaluating these high-profile, government funded, faith-based social cohesion and integration programmes (such as Creative English 2015, Near Neighbours 2016, Strengthening Faith Institutions 2019) and this makes the faith sector an ideal area of study, as this gives both good access to programmes and a direct route to

impacting and influencing future policy and practice. It is unlikely that other sectors would have provided such good opportunities for access or impact.

Research having demonstrable, real-world impact has grown in importance in recent years as the UK higher education sector is dominated by a benchmarking exercise known as the Research Excellence Framework (REF). The REF, in a drive to foster 'accountability for public investment in research' (REF 2021) has, from 2014 onwards, sought to link research excellence with the impact of academic research outside of academia. Future funding has therefore been linked, for the first time, to the use and adoption of academic research in policy and practice, with focus on influencing governmental policy at home and abroad (British Academy 2017).

With such funding implications, the careers of academics have become inexorably linked to the REF (Murphy 2014) and thus early career researchers who wish to pursue a longer career in academia are encouraged to plan and undertake research with future impact in mind. Placing my research within contemporary integration policy and practice is therefore of paramount importance to both myself and Coventry University.

This chapter reviews the role of the faith sector as a delivery agent for social policy in the United Kingdom and places this research in that context. In turn this sets the scene for identifying a suitable case study for the research, and leads to and informs Chapter 5, Methodology, which gives a robust and credible approach to conducting the research.

3.2 The Role of the Faith Sector as a Delivery Agent for Government Social Policy in the United Kingdom

This section critically explores the role that the faith sector plays as a delivery agent for government social policy in the UK. The changing nature of UK politics, and principally the sea change that has been seen from the Labour government policies of community cohesion and Prevent, to the Conservative and Liberal Democrat decentralised ideals and now successive Conservative majority governments continuing this drive make this research timely.

This takes the literature away from solely academic research to include policy documents. In part this is due to this being a contemporary review and much of the policy which dictates the current context being recent and, as such, not yet subject to full and published academic scrutiny. It is also worthy of note that much of the policy context is not led by academic evidence. Academic reviews of policies tend to take place retrospectively.

This section lays out a clear term of reference with regards to what is meant by faith communities and faith-based organisations, as these terms are often used interchangeably in policy documents. It also examines a UK context of the faith sector as an agent of delivery for the government, and critically reviews the transactions and interactions that have taken place between the two thus far. Finally, the benefits and the potential pitfalls of the faith sector being used as an agent for delivery of government policy and service are explored.

Throughout this section both faith communities and faith-based organisations will be referred to separately. The faith sector is a term which combines both of these entities into one group of actors or agencies.

Dinham & Lowndes (2008) characterise faith communities as being "made up of individual citizens and their families and social networks who have a religious identification or affiliation and may or may not take part in regular worship". They are, however, critical of the general use of the term 'faith community' believing it to be too general a term and one which fails to recognise both the diversity between and within faiths. This review acknowledges the limitations of this term and will ensure that the potential negative impacts of its application in this research are discussed and accounted for. When the terminology faith or faith based is used, it is not in reference to any single faith or subsection of a faith group. This term also considers and covers non-faith groups, such as humanists.

A faith-based organisation is one which has faith as one of its defining characteristics. This includes lay organisations and social enterprises.

3.2.1 Setting the context

The Local Government Association (2012) recognises that the United Kingdom has a unique context with regards to the relationship between its faith sector and government. This is felt to be due to the blend of multiculturalism and secularism that is present in the UK to a degree that it is not found anywhere else. By many measures the UK has a population with a greater share of world religions and those of no religion than anywhere else in Europe.

This does though present challenges when evaluating literature around the role played by the faith sector and faith communities, such as that of Putnam, which is very US centric and developed in a much more mono-faith, Christian focussed context (Baker 2013). This is particularly pertinent when discussing the roles of social capital, spiritual capital and moral freighting in the dynamic between government policy and the faith sector.

The concept of social capital gained prominence in the late 1990s and early 2000s through the work of Robert Putnam, though the term was first coined by Hanifan in 1916. Others

such as Bourdieu and Coleman played key roles in developing the concept. Social capital as defined by Putnam (2000) refers to ‘the collective value of all “social networks’ and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for one another”. Trust and reciprocity between individuals are key measurables in Putnam’s model of social capital. Fukuyama (1992) uses "shared norms or values that promote social cooperation, instantiated in actual social relationships" to define social capital throughout his work. There is, though, no consensus in literature or policy with regards to an absolute and undisputed definition of social capital.

The idea of moral freighting follows from Putnam’s ideas on social capital and posits that individuals who are members of religious groups are “better neighbours” (2000) and have greater involvement in civic activities than those who are not.

Similarly, the idea of spiritual capital as described by Baker & Miles-Watson (2010) presents a case that spiritual capital is the result of religious based motivational culture which stimulates action to take place. The distinction is drawn between religious capital which is the actual tangible actions and resources that faith groups contribute to the wider civil society and spiritual capital which covers the motivation that these contributions depend upon. Oham (2013) presses the case that spiritual capital, and the development thereof, can play an important role in the successful operation of social enterprises. Viewing some faith-based organisations as being competitive providers in a marketplace (as per government policy) overlaps with the idea of social enterprise and suggests that the principles of spiritual capital are transferable.

Both social and spiritual capital have, however, attracted criticism. Dinham (2012) argues that social capital has become a widely used, almost ubiquitous, term, but is one which is rarely fully understood or explored. That social capital overlooks the power and class dynamics at play in communities is seen as an oversimplification that undermines the whole concept. It may, however, be the case that the ability of the faith sector to cut across class boundaries in a way that the wider community and voluntary sector often cannot (Local Government Agency 2012) adds strength to social capital in the faith sector.

Going further than this, Montemaggi (2011) offers a scathing criticism of spiritual capital believing that it shows only the behaviours of faith-based organisations that make positive contributions whilst ignoring negative behaviours such as exclusionism and extremism. That spiritual capital only seeks to view the contribution of the faith sector through a positive lens is further illustrated through a retrospective analysis of the work of Dr. Martin Luther King. Dr King preached civil disobedience to work towards the endgame of a common good and equal rights. This view is echoed by Baker (2013) who argues that the whole construct is a

conservative one which places subjective morals and ethics as absolutes. As government aims to uphold law and order and so a policy of civil disobedience would not be regarded contemporarily by government as a positive outcome of spiritual capital. This makes the use of term open to challenge.

It is problematic that there is no agreed definition of social capital and that, despite this lack of clarity of meaning, it has become a widely used policy term. When policies involving social capital are devised and implemented it is challenging to evaluate the impact of these when the term is used in differing ways with differing outcomes. Non-material outcomes, even when defined, are challenging to measure as outputs and metrics and do not translate easily into targets and performance indicators (Baker 2013).

Whilst these critiques raise valid points, what is certain, and perhaps pertinent to this research, is that the concept of social capital has influenced the relationship between government policy and the faith sector in the UK, and that it continues to do so today. Dinham (2012) lists key social capital building funding streams worth over £400,000,000 that were made available in the UK between 2004 and 2011 to faith-based actors. Though funding provision across the board has been limited, in many cases drastically, by the ideological austerity agenda, these cuts have been "selective" (Lupton et al 2016). Here large pots of funding were reserved for the NHS, schools and pensions whilst softer, non-statutory provisions such as early years, adult social care, further education and other local government services were left unprotected. It is into these fields where funding was not ringfenced, that the faith, and the wider community and voluntary sectors, have been left to meet demand (Church Action on Poverty and Churches Together in Britain and Ireland 2014). Lambie-Mumford (2018) suggests that the growth of food banks across the UK during this age of austerity is an appropriate lens through which to view the shift in social policy from being welfare state led to a reliance on often ad hoc non-state caring initiatives.

Linked to this austerity drive, but away from concepts of social capital, another major player in relation to the role of the faith sector as a delivery agent for government policy in the UK is the idea of decentralisation. Decentralisation (IPPR 2014) has been a core approach of the Conservative led coalition government and was central to the much feted, but ultimately unfulfilled, Big Society initiative and the general promotion of localism. Both of these placed greater emphases than previous governments had on the benefits of philanthropic action and groups working together to improve their local area with increased local decision making and less "top down", government dictated initiatives. The Local Government Association (2012) states that the principle of decentralisation would require the continued, and possibly increased, engagement of the whole community and voluntary sector; an idea which

included faith, was emphasised by a number of key policy figures at the time, including Rt Hon. Eric Pickles MP and Baroness Sayeeda Warsi.

Arguably the push towards decentralisation, though partly driven by Conservative ideology, has been pushed to greater prominence because of austerity drives in public funding. With a focus on local communities coming together to improve their lot, and to make decisions for themselves, it is clear to see where decentralisation and austerity overlap. The focus of government policy on austerity has had wider contextual implications for the faith sector as a delivery agent of government social policy. Primarily this has come through a reduction, or complete cutting, of budgets made available to the community, voluntary and faith sectors. This has meant that organisations within these sectors have either had to find money from another source or look towards another way of bringing funding in. Often, acting as a delivery agent for policy or a service has been the solution to bridging this funding gap (Eggers & Macmillan 2013).

3.2.2 What faith involvement in delivering or shaping policy already exists?

There is little debate that faith groups in the United Kingdom are now seen as playing an important role in the delivery of urban services, particularly with regards to social inclusion (Dinham & Lowndes 2008). This rise to prominence began with the New Labour government in the 1990s with the British government expressing a greater interest in including faith groups in local governance. Primarily this push has taken place in urban areas with rural areas already being more likely to see some representation through Parish Councils. These efforts have largely been partnership focussed and with an aim of increasing representation and civic engagement. An example of this is in Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs), which are now required to attempt to include and consult faith communities. This requirement meant that by 2004, 71% of LSPs had some kind of faith representation and 46% had a faith representative involved in their core membership (Dinham & Lowndes 2008). This number has been maintained since. That ‘religion and belief’ were listed as protected characteristics in the Equality Act of 2010 has also seen the faith sector given greater prominence in local and national government policy (Local Government Association 2012).

Positive examples of the involvement of faith-based organisations in acting as delivery agents for government policy or provision include local regeneration partnerships, Sure Start and Learn Direct, as well as emergency response to local and national crises. Around half of all rural parishes in the North West were involved in providing relief and assistance during the Foot and Mouth outbreak in the early 2000s (Bennett et al 2002).

However, the Preventing Violent Extremism (or PVE) programme is a government initiative in which the faith sector has overlapped with policy to decidedly mixed results in terms of outcomes and perceptions. Launched in 2006, though actually devised in principle in 2004, the initial scheme in total saw £140,000,000 of funding be diverted towards areas with significant Muslim populations. Initially this was areas with a Muslim population greater than 5% of the total, but this was eventually expanded to local authority areas with Muslim populations above 2,000 people (Thomas 2011). The aims of the programme were to engage with Muslim populations and to both prevent radicalisation and raise awareness by taking a "hearts and minds" approach. In practice though, progress against these aims was difficult to assess and the programme attracted significant criticism for being perceived as being used to fund community cohesion and equalities related projects.

The focus of the Preventing Violent Extremism work on Muslim communities and individuals, both real and perceived, was also seen as deeply unhelpful, stigmatising and damaging (Thomas 2011). Despite there being no evidence that radicalisation was more likely to occur in areas with large Muslim populations (Simpson & Finney 2009), funding was placed into these areas. As these areas were naturally amongst the most diverse nationally, there was significant crossover with the community cohesion agenda. This meant that the work of PVE was felt by some to be damaging to work that was already being done around cohesion (Turley 2009). Nevertheless, the two became somewhat intertwined in both political reality and, perhaps more importantly, public perception despite the Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government (now MHCLG but then DCLG) attempts to clarify the boundaries between the two (2009). The nature of the relationship between the two agendas – community cohesion/integration and PVE - still continues (Thomas 2011) despite the fact that the PVE programme has since expanded to a national remit and is no longer explicitly targeted at faith groups.

3.2.3 The benefits of using faith sector as a delivery agent

Much work has been undertaken exploring the positive benefits that the faith sector can bring in terms of service and provision delivery.

The link between the faith sector and levels of volunteering is well established (Wilson & Janoski 1995), though it is worthy of note that no link has been found between a person holding religious beliefs and their propensity to volunteer, and that many pieces of research take a very protestant and ministering approach to religious volunteering. This suggests that it is the act of involvement in the faith sector that moves the individual to volunteer. An individual being more willing to contribute their time is a benefit of using the faith sector as an agent of policy and/or service delivery, particularly in times of budget cuts and austerity.

Indeed, it is noted that use of the faith sector opens up access to both a readily available pool of volunteers, and also established and available premises and facilities.

Blunkett (2001) commented that the faith sector has the human capacity to help those working towards regeneration, social inclusion and sustainable development. These 'development workers', as Blunkett describes local religious leaders, often give an invaluable access to communities that may otherwise be deemed hard to reach. The ability of the faith sector to reach out to otherwise unengaged and potentially vulnerable sections of society are well documented (Dinham & Lowndes 2008 and Thomas 2011). It is here that the depth and breadth of engagement in the faith sector can be seen to be greater than that of the community and voluntary sector.

The faith sector is noted for its ability to give access to and for traditionally hard to reach groups such as the homeless, the mentally ill and/or unstable, newly arrived migrants and otherwise vulnerable individuals such as older people and children (Dinham, Furbey & Lowndes 2009).The faith sector is also highlighted as being one which, as much as is possible, transcends class barriers. This is despite under 10% of British Christians regularly attending a religious service and many of those who do so being in the older and more affluent demographic groups (ONS 2011).

The North West Development Agency (2003) mapped faith communities in the North West of England with the Index of Multiple Deprivation and found that they were generally the strongest where there was the greatest social need for them. This echoes a statement from the Home Office which recognises the important role that the faith sector can play in provision for disadvantaged communities; *"Strong community-based organisations are a key starting point for any disadvantaged community. In many cases faith groups will be the strongest around*" (cited in North West Development Agency 2003).

Singleton (2013) talked of faith being "first in, last out" with regards to addressing problems and making a contribution to local areas. This fits with commentary from the Local Government Association (2012) that the long-term presence of faith-based organisations in local areas can act as a bulwark against the short-term approach taken in some policy initiatives. Faith based organisations are often long established, immersed in the local community and possess a physical presence in the locality (Christians in Parliament 2013).

3.2.4 The challenges of using the faith sector as a delivery agent

It must be stressed that the use of the faith sector as a delivery agent for government policy and as a service provider is not a panacea and it is also not without controversy and criticism.

Equality and access issues around gender and sexuality are common complaints with regards to some areas of the faith sector and could potentially hinder the ability of these to deliver policies and services as intended. There is also a danger of wider stigmatisation of the whole sector when equality issues occur, particularly if they are of a high profile. Additionally, some individuals may not feel comfortable in accessing services through a faith-based organisation provider.

Concerns around proselytizing and evangelical behaviour on the part of the faith-based provider, even if this behaviour is well intentioned, do exist. Again, this has the potential to exclude (or give the impression of excluding) members of different faiths or those of no faith. Orton (2014) also notes that “whilst religion was a strong bonding factor between members of religious groups, in some circumstances it may contribute to conflict between different groups, especially when religion became mixed up in politics.”

Faith based organisations, or individuals involved in these, being chosen by the state to play an active role in the delivery of policy or service , also runs the risk of giving legitimacy and credibility to some who may be considered to hold radical, extremist or prejudiced beliefs (Orton 2014).

Whilst recognising that the faith sector is a diverse one with organisations of different specialisms and abilities, the mere act of being a faith based organisation does not make the organisation capable administrators, or make it suited to being involved in logistically complex projects (Christians in Parliament 2013). This presents barriers to entry that the Cabinet Office Futurebuilders scheme sought to address by building capacity in faith-based organisations to compete for service delivery contracts from statutory bodies such as local authorities and the NHS (Futurebuilders 2014). It is possible though that this scheme, and the push to have faith based organisations competitively bidding for tenders, may have created a vicious cycle whereby those organisations with the skillsets to win tenders will continue to do so and will therefore restrict access to funds to those without the knowhow. A focus on upskilling the faith sector to become competitive providers to statutory bodies through schemes such as Futurebuilders may also run the risk of alienating and excluding secular and non-faith bodies.

3.2.5 The faith sector, social cohesion and integration policies

The concept of 'community cohesion' was established following widespread rioting and disturbance in northern England in 2001, and the subsequent 'Cantle Report' (2001) placed the concept at the forefront of cohesion and integration policy and practice in the UK for the ensuing decade. The root causes of poor community cohesion are clearly and explicitly seen by Cantle as including prejudice and negative stereotyping between different groups in society (2001: 101). Though Cantle primarily focussed his early community cohesion work on religion and religious groups, this lens was widened by Cantle and by other researchers and practitioners almost immediately. This is the where the principles upon which intergroup contact operates were sewn into a new era of British social policy.

The Local Government Association affirmed that prejudice has corrosive effect on community cohesion and the interaction between groups when it expanded its working definition of community cohesion to include race and all other protected characteristics (LGA 2004). This linking of poor community cohesion to prejudice is ongoing in policy across the UK with clear pathways between the two articulated and tackled. The passage below is the clearest demonstration of this and, also pertinently to this research, but unusually, highlights the important role played by trust in the process:

"Prejudice and hate have a huge impact on the quality of life of individuals the community to which they belong. Trust becomes more difficult, and whole families and groups withdraw into smaller circles of safety with huge consequences for the overall level of trust and social capital across the whole of society. Even worse, this degree of isolation and fear is a threat to the basic values of an open democratic society and undermines the rule of law and the principle of equality under the law. The long-term impact of social isolation is only beginning to be understood, but it is already clear that it leads to a degeneration of both the personal mental and physical health and wellbeing and this, in turn, leads to a disintegration of community cohesion."- Independent Advisory Group on Hate Crime, Prejudice and Community Cohesion (2016)

That trust is namechecked by the authors is potentially a legacy of Putnam's US centric theory that groups in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods will "hunker down" in the face of diversity and withdraw from social interactions with others (Putnam 2007).

After the adoption of community cohesion as government policy in 2001, the sector was relatively stable until the end of the New Labour government and has since been in a state of flux (Cantle 2008). Community cohesion as a central policy was followed by the somewhat underwhelming "Big Society" ideas of Cameron along with a near decade long series of cuts

to public spending and frontline provision. The Casey Review (2016) was initially hoped to be a reset to this approach but was poorly received and was delivered as David Cameron left office and national focus began to move towards the UK leaving the European Union. Its focus on assimilation was widely regarded as a missed opportunity and the government of Theresa May chose not to adopt the majority of the findings or recommendations.

The 2018 Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper (MHCLG) built on Casey's findings, particularly those around opportunities and access for women. This guided policy towards increasing community-based English language provision, increasing economic opportunities for all, but particularly women from ethnic minority backgrounds and the promotion of British values in the education system. Underpinning this was a drive towards building the capacity, ability and resilience of community, voluntary and faith sector organisations to promote and foster values associated to positive integration. The faith sector was singled out here for both the role that it plays in engaging with those on the fringes of society and the breadth of engagement that it has across the wider population.

Therefore the roles that these institutions involved in promoting integration have been expected to play has also shifted with policy over time, with the Conservative and coalition governments since 2010 eroding and moving away from the more top down Community Cohesion policies advocated by Cantle (2001). This began with David Cameron's "Big Society" (Eggers & Macmillan 2013) and has gone as far as the work of Casey (2016) and the findings of the Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper (2018). Since then the agenda and those involved in it have been somewhat side-lined in both government priority and funding by both the mandate to leave the European Union and the COVID-19 pandemic.

The community cohesion agenda placed significant emphasis on the role of the institution in implementing policy, and thus fostering the results, and this has been a consistent trend in governmental approach to cohesion and integration policies since. Woolcock (2000) pre-empted this somewhat with his findings that well governed organisations are better able to implement social cohesion policy in a way that is seen as fair and equitable to all and thus more likely to be embraced. This worked its way into British policy with all statutory institutions being required to act in a manner that is "fair and open" so as to promote a shared sense of belonging.

The focus of nearly all government policy and funding related to cohesion and integration though was still squarely on statutory bodies with very little attention paid to community, voluntary and faith sectors (Beider 2011). This was until decentralisation emerged in the UK public sector after the 2010 General Election, with this very much being a core approach of the coalition government and its "Big Society" policy (IPPR 2014). At the same time the

Local Government Agency placed an increased emphasis on philanthropy and community and faith led action whilst moving away from statutory-led local work (LGA 2012). This ideological drive has run in parallel with the Conservative-led austerity agenda with the faith sector and other charitable areas being left as delivery agents in place of formerly funded provision (Macmillan 2013). In some instances, faith sector provision is acting as an effective umbrella under which to develop and grow local non-state provision by supporting other actors to better provide local services (Together Network 2016).

From 2016 onwards MHCLG has focussed much of its integration approach on faith-based programmes and projects which build local capacity at grassroots level (Fisher & Range 2016 cited in Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper 2018).Two examples of UK based programmes which receive government funding to build the grassroots capacities of community, voluntary and faith sector organisations to promote integration in the UK are the Strengthening Faith Institutions (SFI) programme and Mosque Resilience programme. SFI is operated by Faiths Forum for London and is funded by MHCLG whilst Mosque Resilience is run by Faith Associates and receives some of its core funding from the Home Office.

The SFI programme aims to help faith institutions better serve their congregations, communities and wider local areas by raising awareness of, and providing support to tackle, challenges which prevent these institutions from operating at an optimum level. This is to be achieved by identifying and addressing areas of organisational weakness as well as upskilling, capacity building and resource sharing. An overarching aim of this programme is to increase social interaction and integration, with all of the other outcomes of the programme feeding into this to some degree. Greater capacity, stronger organisations and better resource sharing all play roles in facilitating integration and fostering social interaction and are all underpinned by increasing the willingness of individuals and organisations to work in outward facing ways and with others who are different to themselves. Reducing stereotypes and prejudices between different religious and ethnic groups is the foundation on which this work is built.

The Mosque Resilience programme works with mosques across the UK to improve their management, leadership, community outreach and governance. This has a strong focus on critical review, internal evaluation and strategic development with the aim of providing mosque leaders with a solid understanding of their institutions and the issues facing them. Though not designed with PVE in mind, the Mosque Resilience project is seen by Faith Associates as having a strong fit in the PVE sphere as robust governance can be used to help build resilience in the institution and to help it get upstream of any potential issues, including safeguarding and extremism. Through a thorough audit and development process,

Faith Associates work with mosques and act as a ‘second regulator’ before the Charity Commission to ensure legal compliance in policies and practices. They also provide a range of softer training and support around management, safeguarding practice and pastoral support, though this is secondary to their focus on compliance in most cases.

Both programmes also recognise that contemporary faith institutions in the UK now operate much more autonomously than previously. For instance, if a Church of England or Catholic church have a safeguarding issue, then there are established chains of reporting within the Catholic and Anglican bodies as well as both having overarching, centrally determined policies and practices. This is not generally the case in the practice of minority faiths in the UK and, as such, temples, gurdwaras and mosques do not have a readily available, central body on which they can fall back on or report to when issues occur. The Charity Commission do, to some degree, fulfil this role but not in the same way and not in a way which many would deem to be faith sensitive or appropriate. As such the programmes acknowledge that building legal compliance and safeguarding into institutions takes on core importance.

Programmes and policies such as SFI and Mosque Resilience recognise and place emphasis on the importance of the role of the institution in enabling and delivering positive work on integration and social cohesion. This is an affirmation of the work of Woolcock (2000). This also links back to the finding of Pettigrew & Tropp in that institutions supporting intergroup contact (and indeed other, linked, outcomes here) have a “special role” (2006: 761). By enabling institutions to become better providers through processes of training, development and legal compliance, they are better able to deliver and support the goals of the wider legislative frameworks and policies in which they operate and serve in. The legal compliance side of this work with faith institutions in the UK is part driven by the need for the safeguarding of vulnerable individuals. However, by ensuring that shared societal standards around these themes, as well as equality and diversity, are acknowledged and upheld, this also fulfils one of the prerequisites of intergroup contact by ensuring that norms of behaviour as to how those involved should act and interact (Yarrow, Campbell & Yarrow 1958).

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the growth of the faith sector in the UK as a delivery agent of social policy, including social cohesion and integration implementation, and provides the context for this research. Policy in the UK since 2001 has been underpinned by a conceptual awareness that prejudice undermines good relations between societal groups and, overtly or otherwise, has sought to address prejudice and negative stereotyping. Though the faith sector does not set social cohesion or integration policies, they are at the frontline in delivering and interpreting them, and thus are a common vehicle for structured intergroup

contact in the UK. Whilst it is true that not all integration and social cohesion programmes are run according to the principles of intergroup contact as outlined by Allport (Pettigrew 1971), it is the case that many are.

This research does not seek to add another layer of complexity to the undertaking of intergroup contact, but rather seeks to facilitate easier and more successful contact. This will have a dual benefit of both producing more generalisable findings and potentially improving the value for public money that intergroup contact programmes in the UK currently produce. Mindful of this a case study model will be used and the methodology of this research (detailed in Chapter 5) is designed to capture the levels of trust felt by individuals participating in intergroup contact towards the organisation supporting the contact as well as the prejudice related outcomes of the contact.

A suitable case study for this research must be of a programme or organisation which operates to the principles of intergroup contact and which recognises that prejudice reduction between participants is integral to the work that it does. Chapter 4 will introduce and detail the programme chosen as a case study for this research.

Whilst recognising that this is a single case study and the limitations of this, in placing this research in real world case study conditions, as opposed to laboratory settings, this should allow for a greater transferability and generalisability of findings. The practical roles played by organisations and participants around the standardised goals of integration and social cohesion in the UK help to ensure this.

Coupled with this identification of the case study programme or organisation, the research methodology must be set up in a way which uses accredited scales to capture the changes quantitatively and test the hypothesis that intergroup contact outcomes and participant trust in the organisation supporting the contact are related. However, this is a new area of research and so it must not be assumed that the any relationship exists or that the hypothesis will be supported. Mindful of this, an approach will be needed which gives a greater depth to the understanding of the potential relationship between organisational trust and intergroup contact outcomes. It will not be enough to know whether the two are related, it is also vital to know why they are or are not.

Finally, the methodological approach must be appropriate to the intergroup contact field. This research has been developed as an intergroup contact study with organisational trust as a variable. This thesis is not an organisational trust study that takes place in an intergroup contact environment and therefore the proposed structure and methodology must align with

the chosen field. It will also be essential to define the measures of organisational trust and prejudice to be used. The full methodological approach taken is detailed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: The Catalyst Programme as a Case Study

4.1 Introduction

Following on from Chapter 3, this chapter identifies and justifies a suitable case study programme for the research to take place in. As this is an intergroup contact study, the programme must be aligned with the aims and principles of intergroup contact, and to fit into the framework of contemporary intergroup contact provision in the UK, it will be beneficial if it is delivered by a faith sector agent. By ensuring that the case study programme is being delivered in this way makes the research representative of wider intergroup contact provision in the UK and will make the findings of this research more likely to be generalisable and transferable. Therefore, a programme has been selected which is both representative of the sector as a whole and which also fulfils all of Allport's criteria for optimum intergroup contact. This chapter provides a full description of the programme itself and the checks and criteria used to ensure that this research is representative and, as far as possible, that findings from it are likely to be robust and generalisable.

4.2 The Catalyst Programme

Catalyst is an interactive leadership programme for young people between 16 and 30 years of age. It is run by CUF (formerly Church Urban Fund) as a part of the wider Near Neighbours programme. CUF was founded by the Church of England as a practical response to help local parish networks to come together with other local faith-based and secular organisations to tackle the areas of greatest need in their communities.

Over the last decade this area of greatest need has been identified, amongst other social issues, to include cohesion and integration and the Near Neighbours programme has been developed and run as a response to this. A core remit of Near Neighbours is to increase and improve the quantity and quality of social interaction in communities. Social interaction is defined by CUF as positive relationships between people who are different where people get to know and understand one another (CUF 2016: 5). This has clear similarities to the aims of intergroup contact and the optimal conditions for contact (Allport 1954, Cook 1962, Pettigrew 1971, Pettigrew 1997: 173).

Catalyst is the youth arm of Near Neighbours and is run along the same principles of increasing and improving the quantity and quality of social interaction in communities. To achieve these aims it brings together young people from different faiths and backgrounds, providing training, dialogue and experiential learning on a range of topics related to leadership, social action and interfaith relations. The interactive programme aims to raise the

aspirations and capacity of individuals to realise their potential both personally so that they can enhance their life skills and, also, so they can positively impact their communities. These young people are the intended participants of the programme and so would also be the participants in this research.

In the current format in which it operates the programme consists of four one day thematic sessions, as well as alumni activities. These are run in schools, colleges and in faith, community and voluntary sector venues. In the past some Catalyst cohorts were run as a four-day residential programme but this four-day thematic course structure has superseded this and will be the model used in the research. This adds to the representativeness of the case study as the vast majority of intergroup contact interventions are not residential based. CUF (2021) states the themes and key activities and outcomes of the of the four days as being:

Table 4.1 Catalyst Key Activities and Outcomes

Day	Key activities and outcomes
1. Identity, Faith and Belonging	• Exploring concepts of identity and belonging and what they mean to young people in the UK, including key points of debate around integration, inclusion and cohesion. • Reflecting on and discussing the importance of living in a diverse society.
2. Exploring Leadership	• Hearing ideas about leadership, both theoretical and practical, and exploring how young people relate to this. • Exploring positive and negative leadership styles, behaviours and personality traits • Discussing the types of leaders who inspire and motivate young people to take on leadership positions. • Understanding the challenges of being a leader.
3. Media & Effective Communication	• Learning the relevance and impact of modern media communication and how this impacts how we view ourselves and others.

	• Hearing ideas about how to communicate more effectively and gain practical experience in presentation and public speaking skills. • Learning how to use the same material, with different angles, for multiple platforms.
4. Social Action & Positive Change	• Reflecting on what we mean by social action and positive change. • Understanding what young people would like to change within their own communities. • Outlining a practical step by step approach to how young people can get organised and take action to transform their communities.

The Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations (CTPSR), Coventry University were commissioned by CUF to evaluate the Near Neighbours programme in 2015. This work with Near Neighbours continued into 2016 and 2017, with a separate, smaller evaluation of the Catalyst programme taking place in 2016. The main findings of this were that:

- The programme met the aims and expectations of 91% of participants.
- Lasting relationships were built, with 70% of alumni staying in contact with people that they had met on the programme.
- Alumni gained confidence with regards to talking to, making friends with and working with people from other faith and ethnic backgrounds.
- 91% of alumni felt that coming into contact with people from different faith or non-faith backgrounds was a positive experience and none felt that it was a negative experience. Of these, 70% have seen a positive change in their attitudes to other faiths.
- 87% of alumni now feel more prepared and enabled to take on leadership roles within their community.

The work that CTPSR had undertaken with ‘Near Neighbours’ was cited in the UK governments 2018 Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper. This citation praised the work of ‘Near Neighbours’, and the Catalyst programme in particular, for breaking down barriers between different groups and building trust and understanding between them. The Catalyst programme also enabling involved young people to develop their skills and

confidence to begin to act as role models in their communities and beyond was also singled out as an important success.

I was the Principal Investigator and evaluation lead for both of the CTPSR evaluations which involved the Catalyst programme, and these roles coincided with the formative stages of this research. This experience of working with the programme and compiling first-hand evidence of the ethos and effectiveness of the programme put the idea of Catalyst being a case study for the research into mind. The programme later being highlighted by the UK government as being an exemplar with regards to the application of the cohesion and integration policy being delivered via the faith sector positioned it even more strongly.

Of great importance too is that the Catalyst programme fits all of the criteria for optimal intergroup contact as devised by Allport (1954) and Cook (1962) and later compiled by Pettigrew (1971). The programme does this and details of how each of the criteria are fulfilled is shown below in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2 Catalyst fulfilling the optimal preconditions for intergroup contact

Precondition for optimal contact	**How the Catalyst programme fulfils this**
Those engaged in the contact have equal status in it.	The Catalyst programme puts heavy emphasis on building dialogue between participants. Dialogue here is defined as *"an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals, groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage on the basis of mutual understanding and respect"* (Council of Europe 2008) and by virtue of this, all participants must have an equal status.
Those engaged in the contact have common goals.	The shared goals of the programme are to increase the employability of participants whilst also preparing them to become leaders in their own communities and developing an understanding of other faith groups.
There is cooperation between the groups involved in the contact.	The Catalyst curriculum is based around interactive activities that all participants are involved in, including working together on planning a social action project.

	All Catalyst cohorts are mixed along lines of faith, ethnicity and gender.
The contact has the support of institutions, authorities, laws and/or custom.	The contact fostered by Catalyst is supported by a number of organisations and authorities that play various roles in the lives of the participants. The most visible support comes from CUF and, by proxy, the Church of England. Other faith groups are represented here too with many delegates having been supported in engaging with Catalyst by their place of worship. Schools and colleges act as partners in many areas, as do local authorities, the Police and some private sector bodies. At the highest level, the programme is part funded by, and is supported by, the Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government.
There is scope for acquaintance potential.	The 2016 evaluation found that 7 out of 10 participants on the programme have remained in contact with other participants after completion of the programme and each area runs regular, local sessions for alumni to attend.

To date CUF have not kept complete records of the demographic details of Catalyst participants as these have been recorded in a more ad hoc manner at local level. Data from the 2016 CTPSR Catalyst evaluation shows that 36% of those who took part were Christian, 42% Muslim and 22% from other faith or non-faith groups. 46% of participants were aged 16 to 18, 29% aged 19 to 25 and 25% aged 26 and over. All cohorts were well mixed in terms of religious demographics with it being rare that there was an outright majority in any group. This multi-ethnic and multi-faith nature of the programme is essential for it to be able to be studied as an intergroup contact intervention. This means that in every cohort there are clear ingroups and outgroups for participants to identify with and to have perceptions, prejudices and stereotypes of.

4.3 Conclusion

Catalyst is a suitable programme to serve as the case study for this research because it is a programme with diverse cohorts which is run along principles and aims which align to those of intergroup contact and uses methods which fit with Allport's optimal conditions for intergroup contact. All of the optimal conditions for intergroup contact being met is key to the programme being a suitable case study because the Pettigrew & Tropp meta-analysis of intergroup contact studies (2006) found that those studies which were undertaken under terms that Allport would determine to be optimal yielded significantly greater levels of prejudice reduction than those which took place under suboptimal conditions. This means that the fewer of the preconditions for contact which were met, the less impactful of the intervention. Were any of the pre-conditions for intergroup contact absent or unfulfilled in this research then this could skew results and lead to the misinterpretation of findings.

The Catalyst programme being delivered by a faith sector agent as a part of the wider UK cohesion and integration policy places it firmly in the wider intergroup contact provision in the UK and will make the findings more likely to be relevant, generalisable and transferable. This links to the review of the field in Chapter 3.

Further to this that there is an established working relationship between myself, CTPSR and CUF is a great help to this process and gives all parties an assurance that the research is an appropriate fit for all parties involved. As all of the parties involved are known to one another and that access to participants and programme information is already in place helps to ensure realistic planning and scope of the work. This, in turn, informs the methodological approach taken.

The next chapter will clearly state the aims of the research and the methodological stance and approaches taken to conducting the research. This will include a consideration of limitations to the chosen approach and any ethical issues or concerns which may arise from the research.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have introduced and set the context for this research by drawing together links between intergroup contact literature and organisational trust literature and placing these in a contemporary and relevant case study.

This chapter will clearly restate the aims of the thesis and detail the philosophical and methodological stances that fit with this research and hypothesis. From here measurement tools, data collection methods and analysis strategies are appraised and determined followed by a discussion of the strengths, weaknesses and validity of these measures as well as ethical issues arising from the research.

This chapter also details the experiences of the data collection process. A key aspect of this was a pilot study which was run before data collection proper to test the approach and methodology, and also a subsection on data collection issues which impacted upon the research timelines.

Finally, a short conclusion as to the approach taken and the consequences of these sets up the data analysis, presentation and discussion chapters.

5.2 The Aims of the Thesis

The aims of the thesis are stated in Chapter 1 but the iterative nature of this research and the journey that it has taken calls for a clear restatement of it, and the hypothesis, here. Any research methodology must be fit for purpose in addressing the aims of the research and enabling the researcher to address their hypothesis. This restatement of aims and hypothesis ahead of the description of research methodology serves as a check on this and aligns with the chronological nature of this thesis as the methodology was only fully developed after the literature and policy reviews had taken place and after a potential case study had been identified and approached.

The literature around both intergroup contact and organisational trust suggest that the two may be linked or related. The *"special role"* (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006) that the organisation facilitating intergroup contact holds is well established and clear. As the organisation is able to support the norms of the contact and to uphold the criteria of intergroup contact, this means that it is central to the intergroup contact experience. Additionally, having an organising or facilitating body is one of the aspects of intergroup contact which separates it in both approach and concept from situational contact.

Equally well established in the intergroup contact literature are known moderators of contact, which include participant pre-contact anxiety (Stephan & Stephan 1985, Vezzali et al 2012, Stathi et al. 2012), fear of social embarrassment (Rivers 2011) and unequal status in the contact (Sherif 1966).

It is possible that participant trust in the organisation which is supporting intergroup contact can have some effect on these moderators of contact. Trust is the act or willingness of an individual to make themselves vulnerable to the action of another party based on positive expectations of the motivation and behaviour of that party (Rousseau et al. 1998, Mayer et al. 1995). Therefore, it is possible that an individual who trusts an organisation supporting intergroup contact will likely feel less anxious about participating in it and have positive expectations that the standards and norms of intergroup contact around equal status between participants will be upheld.

As stated in Chapter 1, the hypothesis of this research is that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and outcomes of the contact are related. Here the outcomes of the contact are, as per Allport's hypothesis (1954), changes in the levels of prejudice felt by an individual towards an outgroup or outgroups. This restatement is an important part of the generative and iterative research process and now directly informs the methodological approach which is to be used (Avner et al 2014).

For this hypothesis to be supported intergroup contact outcomes will be more positive in participants who hold high levels of organisational trust towards the body facilitating the intergroup contact. This is to say that higher levels of organisational trust will lead to higher rates of prejudice reduction. Conversely, intergroup contact outcomes will be less positive in participants who hold low levels of organisational trust towards the body facilitating the intergroup contact. Here prejudice will reduce at a lower rate, if at all. A null hypothesis will show no relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and outcomes of the contact.

This hypothesis does not presuppose that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact causes outcomes of the contact to change. The study must be designed in such a way that the affect which organisational trust has on contact outcomes either directly or through known moderators of contact be captured.

Therefore, the research design and methodology used in this research must measure:

1. Participant attitudes and behaviours towards outgroups prior to intergroup contact taking place.

2. Participant attitudes and behaviours towards outgroups after intergroup contact has taken place.
3. Levels of organisational trust felt by participants towards the facilitating body of the intergroup contact.

The methodological approach laid out in this chapter focusses on testing this hypothesis.

In addition to this straightforward testing of the hypothesis, the research methodology also allows for the gathering of data which can give greater understanding as to the outcomes. If participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact have an effect on the outcomes of the contact, then data will be gathered to build an understanding as to why and how this relationship functions. Similarly, if the relationship does not exist, the data should help to explain why this link between the fields of intergroup contact and organisational trust does not manifest itself.

5.3 Methodological Stance and Considerations

The literature review demonstrates that the contact hypotheses and organisational trust are conceptually related and possibly interdependent. By bringing the two fields together and exploring the effect that organisational trust has on intergroup contact, this meets Bechhofer & Paterson's (2000: 9) criteria for the work being valuable research and one which can make a fresh contribution to knowledge by replicating the findings in one field successfully in another.

The potential benefit of establishing the existence of a relationship between the effectiveness of intergroup contact and the levels of organisational trust felt by participants in the contact towards the facilitating body are clear. For instance, facilitating bodies which are not highly trusted by participants (or would-be participants) can adapt their approaches, the way that they market themselves or partner with more trusted bodies. Those bodies which participants feel high levels of organisational trust in may also be able to leverage this trust more effectively.

As the hypothesis states that participant levels of organisational trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact are related can have an effect on the outcomes of intergroup contact, a correlational relationship is assumed. It must be very clear that a causal relationship between participant levels of organisational trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact is not being implied or researched. The correlation hypothesis looks specifically at the interdependence in which the variables affect each other, but don't necessarily directly cause each other. As no relationship between

organisational trust and intergroup contact outcomes has yet been established, either in this research or in published literature, implying causation would be several steps ahead of first determining whether or not there is interdependence.

This correlational assumption makes the hypothesis a directional hypothesis (Howitt and Cramer 2008: 28) and therefore the standard approach to take is to use the hypothetico-deductive model (Popper 2004). A hypothetico-deductive approach involves gathering data which can falsify or support the hypothesis. This is a positivistic approach to take and so, much like in the natural sciences (Robson 2011: 21) an emphasis must be placed on the collection of robust datasets to generate empirical data from which objective conclusions can be drawn (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2003).

Outright and purist-forms of positivism have however attracted heavy contemporary criticism with doubts raised about the universalities of an individual's reality with regards to direct experience and observable phenomena (Blaikie 2007: 183). Thus, a post-positivistic paradigm seems more applicable in ensuring greater generalisability of findings. Post-positivism acknowledges that all research is imperfect and that scientific enquiry only uses the best evidence available at the time, therefore claims are to be refined and abandoned in the face of new knowledge or findings (Phillips & Burbules 2000: 29). Here we avoid making outright statements of fact and proclaiming universal truths. This is particularly relevant given the nature of the case under study and importance, as discussed later in this chapter, of the context of the case from which the data is drawn.

The ontological stance of this research is firmly realist as the research seeks to explain how mechanisms produce outcomes and that these outcomes are a statement of what is really happening in reality (House 1991). Crucial to the application of this ontology in this research is the realist distinction between mind and world. To expand, in relation to the research topic, realism permits an understanding of contact between people as an example of something that exists in reality, distinct to people's views, minds and relative interpretations of it, that is an observable mechanism which is perceived by one's senses (Maxwell 2012).

The role of theory within scientific realism then, relies on the idea that science aims to 'produce true descriptions of things in the world'(Craig 1996).This scientific realist approach allows this research to view contact theory and other relevant academic theories as referring to real features of the world and of getting closer to understanding the truth of those phenomena (Honderich 2005).

A common critique of scientific realism's view of theory is the notion that realists believe that theories reveal the truth, despite the fact that most theories in history have been falsified,

and so it is impossible to know if the theories used are true or close to the truth (Tomassi 1999). In rebuttal to this critique, the notion of a 'mature' theory has particular value within this ontological perspective, in that those theories which have been scrutinised and tested scientifically are more valid and 'converge closer to the truth' (Craig 1996). This aligns well with the study's focus on long-established and well-tested theories such as 'contact hypothesis' which is a mature theory from a well-established discipline worthy of study and further refinement. The realist perspective, then, allows the research to view the theories under review as important and reliable mechanisms of understanding reality, which will become (perhaps marginally) closer to understanding that reality as a result of this study.

Following a realist ontology, a typical approach taken in social psychology to testing hypotheses such as these is to conduct a basic laboratory experiment (Aronson et al. 2009). Most often this will involve two conditions and the manipulating of a variable between these to test the validity of the hypothesis. However, the independent variable to be controlled in this study is the participant's level of organisational trust in the body facilitating the intergroup contact. This is not a variable that can be randomly allocated to participants and, as such, this study is therefore not suitable to be conducted under true experimental conditions. Using quasi-experimental and correlational designs is an acceptable alternative to using experimental designs in circumstances where the independent variable cannot be randomly allocated (Ross & Grant 1996: 74)

A correlational study using a real-world intergroup contact programme as a case study was therefore the most appropriate vehicle for this research. Aronson et al. (2009) present a compelling case that correlation studies are not to be viewed as unscientific, but rather a pragmatic approach to the pursuit of knowledge through observation. This also fits with the post-positivistic approach in attempting to ensure that findings are generalisable and replicable. If the case study programme and cohort are typical of those found in intergroup contact programmes, then the findings should have a degree of generalisability. For this reason, the case study was been chosen to be one which, as per chapters 3 and 4, is at the forefront of the current UK approach to intergroup contact.

Conducting the research in the field, as opposed to under experimental conditions, can be viewed as a positive as experiments conducted under, often artificial, laboratory conditions have been demonstrated to generate results and findings which would not occur in more natural, real world settings (Howitt & Cramer 2008: 160). As I hope that this research can have implications in real world intergroup contact practice, it therefore was optimal to conduct it in circumstances which are most likely to produce replicable results in non-experimental conditions. This also fits well with the post-positivistic stance taken and

addresses one of the core criticisms of intergroup contact studies. Here the dominance of laboratory-based research experience in the field has made studies so refined and laden with non-essential preconditions that replicating findings in the real-world is impractical and unworkable (Pettigrew, 1998; Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

However, the downsides of not conducting fieldwork in controlled experimental conditions is that not all variables were able to be controlled. In a true experiment there will be a control condition, a first condition and a second condition with these being randomly assigned to participants. The only difference in the participant's experience of the experiment should be the condition that they were assigned to. From here it is then possible to assume that any differing outcomes from the experiment between conditions can only have been caused by the condition, as every other variable was held constant (Breakwell 2004:16). This is important as research where findings cannot be replicated by others can be seen by some schools of research to lack credibility, and so experimental research designs do tend to be favoured over non-experimental ones (Bryman & Bell 2007: 171). This criticism can, to a degree, be counteracted by the production and sharing of a detailed procedural manual that is descriptive enough as to allow other researchers to replicate as much of the research design and set up as is reasonably possible.

The sample of participants used in this research was a convenience sample in that participants are delegates on, or previous delegates of the Catalyst programme and the organisation running the programme gave me access to them (though the consent of the individual participants was still required to proceed beyond the initial introduction). A convenience sample is a non-probability sample which uses participants who are available and close to hand (Robson 2011: 275). There was no selection of participants within the programme as all Catalyst delegates were given the option to take part in the quantitative research. Also, there was no need for a set sample in this research as the hypothesis aimed to test the relationship between a variable (participant levels of organisational trust in the body facilitating intergroup contact) and the outcomes of an intergroup contact intervention (Campbell 1969: 360-362).

Using convenience samples is a very common and uncontroversial approach to take in social psychological research (Howitt & Cramer 2008: 55). A meta-analysis of articles published in the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology showed that convenience samples were used in 80% of the research. In the majority of cases this convenience sample was comprised of students (West et al. 1992).

One potential issue to flag around the sample was that it was self-selecting as it only included young people who voluntarily decided to take part in the Catalyst programme.

There was therefore a good chance that these participants only included those who already had at least some degree of comfort in interacting with people different to themselves as those who are not may have self-excluded by not enrolling on the Catalyst programme. This did potentially introduce bias into the study. However, as participation in intergroup contact must be voluntary (Allport 1954), this would also mean that participants in any real-world intergroup contact are also self-selecting. Therefore, the sample in this research, though self-selecting, does mirror the conditions seen in the real world. Whilst this is a positive of the approach, a downside is that participants in the research would likely, by nature of being involved in the Catalyst programme, have already demonstrated a degree of trust in the organisation. This increased the likelihood that the research would be unable to generate findings which relate to those who have a strong distrust in the organisation.

Participants in the research were made aware that they were taking part in this research at the start of their formal interaction with the programme. This was the stage at which consent forms and other research ethics related materiel was shared with and signed by participants. Participants were though not be made aware of the specific subject of the research and data was collected in tandem with data for an evaluation of the Catalyst programme. This was to avoid, or at least mitigate for, the Hawthorne Effect (Cook & Campbell 1979: 60). This effect causes participants to behave differently than they normally would because they are aware that they are being observed.

5.4 Research Design

This research used a mixed methods approach as this allowed for the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data (Bryman & Bell 2007). This was an appropriate approach to take as we were seeking to establish whether a relationship between variables exists and then to offer some explanation or depth of understanding as to why it does or why it does not. Quantitative data and analysis is the best route to providing an answer to the existence of the relationship between organisational trust and contact outcomes, whilst qualitative data is of equal importance in generating findings and to potentially generate further research themes or questions.

This was a standard research design in the social sciences, especially in case study-based research (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004) which is a pragmatic and realistic approach to observing and documenting naturally occurring phenomena. As no variables were being manipulated in the research and it was not being conducted under experimental conditions at all, any relationships observed were deemed to be naturally occurring.

5.4.1 Quantitative research design

In collecting quantitative data for the research, a correlational approach was used. This form of research design is suitable to the desired non-experimental stance of the work and is where two variables are measured and the researchers assesses the statistical relationship, or correlation, between them. There is no attempt made to control for extraneous or confounding variables in correlational studies. Though extraneous and confounding variables differ slightly in their definitions, both refer to the possible distorting effects of a third variable on the relationship between the variables being studied. As this research explored whether there is a relationship between the two variables being studied, confounding variable is used going forward to refer to any such third variable.

Using a correlational study in this research was the most appropriate approach to take as the statistical relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact are hypothesised to be causal, but it was not possible to manipulate the independent variable in the study.

This approach was entirely suited to the Catalyst programme case study as it would have been both unethical as a researcher to manipulate participant levels of organisational trust and undesirable on the part of CUF for this to happen. Therefore, neither participant prejudice nor organisational trust are independent variables that could have been actively controlled as a part of the research. To some degree though, it was likely that the self-selecting cohort of Catalyst participants meant that individuals with high levels of outgroup prejudice and low levels of trust in the facilitating organisation would self-exclude. This, however, would have been an issue with any approach and the voluntary nature of participation in Catalyst mirrored the voluntary nature of optimal intergroup contact.

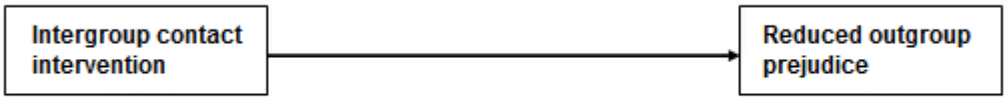
Online questionnaires using established scales of measurement for both organisational trust and participant prejudice were employed. This ensured that the questions asked of all participants were completely standardised and that there was no deviation. Bechhofer & Paterson view this as a core component of credible research design (2000:75). Questionnaires also had the additional benefit of being time efficient as interviewing up to 200 participants several times each at several stages in the Catalyst programme and then transcribing and analysing the interviews was not a feasible task.

Using questionnaires in a correlational study also allowed for the testing of different variables at different stages of the intergroup contact scenario to see if there were any relationships between them. For instance, it is already established in the literature that pre-contact anxiety and contact outcomes have a relationship with one affecting the other. This is an inductive

approach to developing and refining a theory and is suitable here as no prior research had established if there is any relationship between intergroup contact outcomes and organisational trust.

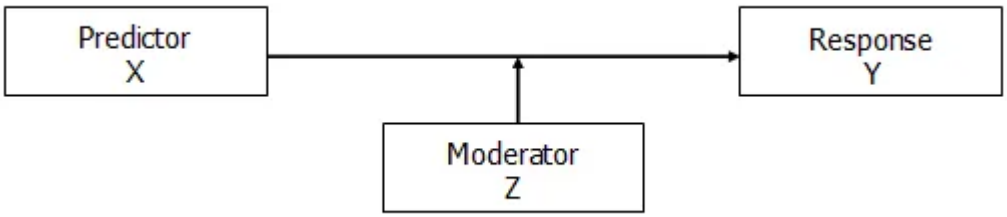
This correlational approach, which considers confounding variables, is an accepted approach to determining if a causal relationship between variables exist. In a typical correlational model there is one way in which a standard predictor X and response Y can relate. The model here works on the assumption that there is some predictive ability of the impact of X on Y. This assumes that there is a clear response variable, but not that there is necessarily a causal relationship between X and Y.

In the intergroup contact field, the intervention constitutes X and reduced outgroup prejudice is Y. Decades of study and meta-analysis have demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt that an intergroup contact intervention, when carried out under the conditions specified by Allport and Cook (Pettigrew 1971), will show some degree of effect in reducing outgroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006, Dovidio, Eller & Hewstone 2011).

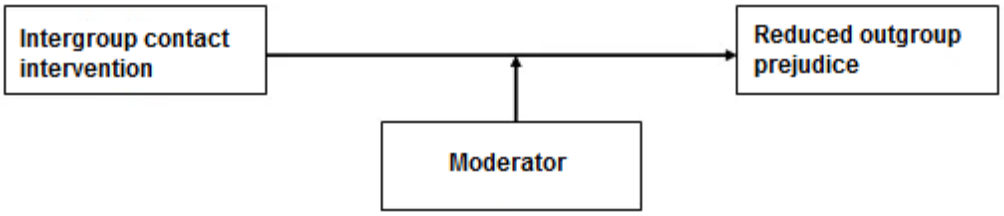


The model above supposes a simple relationship with no other variables in play which could affect, or moderate, the relationship between X and Y. Where there is a such a variable in play, this relates to X and Y and changes how the relationship between X and Y must be interpreted. In the diagram below the moderating variable is Z and we see the same relationship assumed between X and Y, but that Z also plays a part in influencing the relationship between the predictor and the response.

In this model X will predict Y in different ways dependent on the value of Z. It could be the case that when Z is small there is a strong, positive relationship between X and Y, but when Z is large, the relationship between X and Y is weaker or non-existent. It is not essential that X and Z are correlated, though they may be.



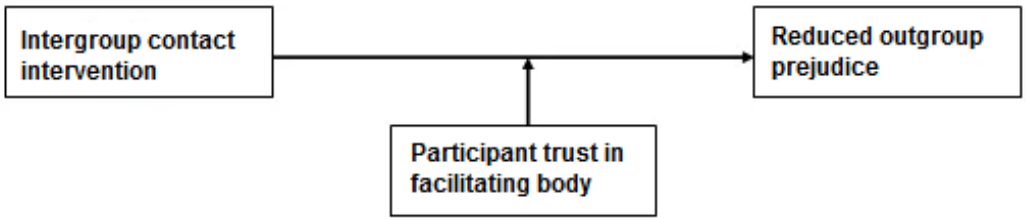
The main known moderator of intergroup contact response is the level of anxiety held by participants. High levels of anxiety, especially pre-contact, are the major predictor in sub-optimal and negative contact outcomes in intergroup contact (Crisp & Turner 2012, Mallett & Wilson 2010, Stathi et al. 2012, Vezzali et al. 2012). Identified within this are other moderators of contact, including levels of self-efficacy and concern of social embarrassment (Turner, Crisp & Lambert 2007). Additionally, the circumstances in which intergroup contact takes place (Hodson 2008) and the levels of institutional support in promoting and supporting the contact (Longshore & Wellisch 1981) are known as moderating influences on the response.



Although there have been decades of testing in different environments, it is likely that there are moderators of the response which are yet to be discovered (Stephan & Stephan 2005). Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) echo this sentiment and made a call for further research into moderators of contact and the further development and refinement of the field. Since that call, new areas of intergroup contact have been theorised, tested and supported, including the practice of imagined contact (Crisp & Turner 2009). It is unfeasible to suppose that all moderators of intergroup contact are known.

The Literature Review chapter established that there is gap in the knowledge as to how the organisation supporting contact can act as a moderator on the response and that participant perceptions of the organisation may be a factor in mitigating against or promoting known moderators of contact, such as pre-contact anxiety. The aim of this thesis is to determine if, and how, participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact have an effect on the outcomes of the contact and therefore it is vital to discover whether the level of trust held

by the participant in the organisation facilitating intergroup contact acts as a moderator of the response and, if it does, to what extent. This can be seen below:



Therefore, the hypothesis tested is that intergroup contact outcomes will be more positive in participants who hold high levels of organisational trust towards the body facilitating the intergroup contact. This is to say that higher levels of organisational trust will be related to rates of prejudice reduction. Conversely, intergroup contact outcomes will be less positive in participants who hold low levels of organisational trust towards the body facilitating the intergroup contact. Here prejudice will reduce at a lower rate, if at all.

Demographic data and other relevant participant information, including previous experience, status within the communities and levels of anxiety about spending time with people who are different was also be gathered and analysed to ensure that these are not also confounding variables which distort the relationships of the studied variables and are also moderators of the response.

Where the correlational study is a quantitative approach to determining if there is any relationship between organisational trust and intergroup contact outcomes, a qualitative approach was used to generate a depth of findings as to how and why any such relationships do or do not function.

5.4.2 Quantitative data collection and analysis

The 2016 CTPSR Catalyst programme evaluation used online questionnaires and telephone interviews to collect data. The methodology for this piece of research is therefore similar. This is a model that has been demonstrated to work with this programme before and is one that CUF are comfortable with, and one which fits with the methodological stance and approach detailed earlier in this chapter.

For this research questionnaires were conducted at the beginning and the end of a participant's interaction with the Catalyst programme to establish baseline and endline quantitative datasets. Baseline data is data collected from participants prior to the

intervention starting and endline data is data collected immediately after the intervention has ended.

Table 5.1 below shows the stage at which each of the questionnaires were completed and the relevant data that was gathered in them to establish the baseline and endline datasets. Pre-course questionnaires comprise the baseline dataset and post-course questionnaires the endline.

Table 5.1 Catalyst Questionnaire Structure

Phase	Details	Data Gathered
1. Pre-course questionnaire	To be completed by participants before they begin Catalyst.	- Organisational trust towards Catalyst - Prejudice towards outgroups - General evaluative and demographic data
2. Post-course questionnaire	To be completed by participants immediately after they complete Catalyst.	- Organisational trust towards Catalyst - Prejudice towards outgroups - General evaluative and demographic data

The 2 phases of quantitative data collection allow for the tracking of the attitudinal changes (assuming that there are any) taking place in individuals over the course of the programme. The pre-course questionnaire gives a baseline reading that establishes the levels of organisational trust felt by participants towards Catalyst whilst also establishing their levels of prejudice towards other groups. The post-course questionnaire records the same information. If all other variables have been successfully accounted for or held, then based on statistically significant differences in the data it is reasonable to infer that any differences in responses between the pre-course and post-course questionnaires will be as a result of the intervention (Howitt & Cramer 2008).

As part of the demographic data collection, the ethical procedures around data protection and anonymity, participants were asked to create a unique reference code from their initials and date of birth. This is standard practice and this reference code allows for the pairing of

participant responses from the pre-course and post-course questionnaires together and to track attitudinal changes.

Closed questions or items were used throughout the questionnaires to ensure that there was *"little difficulty"* in coding responses (Robson 2011: 252) and this made for a clear and manageable data analysis.

This approach was tested in a pilot study as Robson (2011: 405) recommended that this should nearly always be viewed as the first stage in thorough data collection and is useful when using structured questionnaires. Sansone et al. (2004: 368) particularly recommend that when the methodology involves collecting individual's data online that a pilot study in which a cohort are observed working through the materiel and are interviewed afterwards about their experience in doing so. To this end a pilot study was conducted along these lines prior to the main data collection phase and qualitative data from the cohort through a focus group to ensure the following:

- The language used in the questionnaires is easily understood and appropriate. Particular emphasis here will be on ensuring that participants understand what is meant when referring to groups.
- The layout of the questionnaire is clear and easy to use. This includes checking that it is usable on all forms of mobile device including smartphones and tablets.
- That the questionnaires are not too long and that there are no concerns around data protection or anonymity. Both are these would likely to be significant factors in low response rates.

A focus group was chosen as the preferred method for the pilot study as they are both an established method of academic data collection (Macnaghten & Myers 2007) and a time efficient way of collecting the opinions of a group of between 4 and 12 participants (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016: 417). The pilot study and subsequent amendments to data collection methods is discussed in more detail in section 4.6.

After the pilot study was completed and methods were amended in response the findings, the data collection proper began. Once the research data had been collected and collated to show individual journeys through the programme (pre-course and post-course) SPSS statistical analysis software was used to run analyses. Denscombe lists the core aims of good data analysis (1999: 198) and these are:

1. To determine whether or not findings were down to chance.
2. To determine the strength of any connections between variables.

Denscombe's aims are pertinent to this research and establishing if there is a relationship between the variables being studied. We need to know that any findings are not random and whether or not the participant level of organisational trust in the body facilitating intergroup contact has any relationship to the outcomes of the contact and, if so, to what extent.

A t-test was used to compare the means of two paired groups to determine if they are independent of each other or if they are statistically related. This is when parametric assumptions are met. When they are not, a nonparametric alternative was used.

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) and multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) tests were run on the data after the questionnaires had been linked by personal identification code and there were more than two variables involved. These was used to test the strengths of any correlation in attitudinal changes amongst participants over the duration of the programme.

SPSS software was used for all statistical analysis and for findings to be considered to be statistically significant, there must have been less than a 5% (or 1 in 20) chance that any findings are down to chance. This is the minimum accepted academic threshold of evidence (Bryman and Cramer 1999: 105).

Questions were phrased in language that is clear and easy to understand (Denscombe 1998: 88). Additionally, the questionnaire was formatted using Arial font, size 12. This follows guidelines laid down by the Royal National Institute of Blind People as being an acceptable font and size (RNIB 2012). This is both important for ensuring accessibility and ease of use of the questionnaires. A study by West & Bruckmuller found that where instructions and content were in a difficult to read state, participants became less predisposed towards positive intergroup contact outcomes (2013).

Scales of measurement for prejudice towards other groups and levels of organisational trust held by participants were used. As there are several options for both available, the selection process for which of these were used as items on the questionnaires is detailed in the next section.

The pre-course and post-course questionnaires are attached as Appendix 3 and Appendix 4. These questionnaires were developed with, and signed off by, CUF and received full ethical approval from Coventry University.

5.4.3 Qualitative research design, data collection and analysis

The qualitative research design consisted of semi-structured telephone interviews which were conducted with previous participants in the Catalyst programme. These are different individuals to those in the quantitative study and this gives an insight as to how the importance of participant trust in Catalyst and the individuals responsible for running it are perceived. The interviews were, where possible, conducted in person. This allowed the interviewer to build rapport with the respondent and has been found to be vital in good data collection when working young people (Bryman & Bell 2003: 142). In total 11 interviews were conducted and these were recorded and transcribed ad verbatim.

Interviews were conducted in a parallel process to the quantitative data collection and were structured around themes identified from the literature review and which are relevant to the intergroup contact process, outcomes and trust in the organisation or representatives of. The coding of the interviews, however, did not take place until after the analysis of the quantitative data was complete this will allow the findings from the data to inform the coding structure of the qualitative data.

A hybrid coding approach of using deductive and inductive coding methodologies was employed. This hybrid coding approach used combined inductive and deductive approaches to the coding. This allowed codes to emerge from the data set itself where themes were recurrent, whilst also considering key themes and areas of interest from the literature, hypotheses and quantitative results and my interpretation of these. This was complementary to the post-positivistic paradigm.

As a part of this process content analysis (Krippendorff 2004) was used to analyse the interview data and to pick out recurring word frequencies and word patterns. These were kept in their key word contexts (Manning and Schutze 1999) and coded manually afterwards. This was to ensure that a consistent and rigorous approach was applied which was, at the same time, meaningful and had an awareness of the language used by participants and the context in which it was used.

To ensure that codings were recorded in a logical and systematic way, and that emergent themes were spotted and drawn out, a multi-level coding system was employed. This approach meant that codes were placed into key thematic areas and then broken down into sub-codes of these and then potentially sub-codes of these (Church 2019). This process continued until the process has been exhausted and there was no new information to be gleaned. Where sub-codes took on a greater degree of prominence, they were restructured to become standalone codes.

Together the deductive approach allowed for an existing theory to be tested, whilst the inductive approach allowed for the observation of broader, and potentially unexpected, findings and trends. The theory being tested was that participant trust in the organisation facilitating intergroup contact has some relationship with the outcomes of the contact and it would have been incorrect to have designed a methodological approach which assumed that this would be the case.

The semi-structured interview guide is attached as Appendix 2. This guide was developed with, and signed off by, CUF and received full ethical approval from Coventry University.

5.5 Measurement Scales

As this work brings together the separate fields of intergroup contact and organisational trust for the first time, there was no single scale for measuring both of these variables together. Therefore, it was necessary to use one scale to measure intergroup bias towards other groups, and another scale to measure participant levels of organisational trust towards the organisation initiating the contact.

The use of accepted and tested scales of measurement is crucial to credible research as it ensures the validity of data, allows other researchers to attempt to replicate findings elsewhere and allows the research findings to be compared against similar pieces which used the same scales (Robson 2011: 313). Both the intergroup contact and organisational trust fields are well established and have numerous scales of measurement currently in wide use. It will add strength to the findings of this research if they can be compared with similar pieces of research in the fields, and to do this means using scales that have been developed and used already.

5.5.1 A systematic review of scales

A criterion for choosing which scales of measurement to employ was devised. These, for both the intergroup contact side and the organisational trust sides of the research, were that:

- The scales are already tested and validated.

- The scales have undergone peer review and have been both positively cited and used within their field.

- The scales use as few questions as possible, whilst still producing accurate and statistically reliable outcomes. As this research will be using two scales together whilst also incorporating wider questions around the Catalyst programme, it is

important that this does not end up creating questionnaires with an unwieldy amount of questions. Also, given that the questionnaires will be completed by young people, it is essential that the questionnaires are kept as short to complete as is possible.

- The scales employ ranked (or ordinal) data. The majority of scales of measurement in both fields do this and so this brings a clear commonality. Ranked data is most typically found in Likert Scales where respondents are asked, for example, to what extent they agree or disagree with a statement (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016: 500).

A systematic review was conducted of the scales available using the criteria listed above. A systematic review was used as it would generate an unbiased, replicable and transparent result which minimises researcher bias (Robson 2011: 96). From the results generated it is then required to make a rather more subjective decision as to which one will be used.

This generated 6 potential scales that that could be used in this research to measure intergroup bias. These are listed, alongside their pros and cons in Table 5.2. A parallel systematic review conducted with the same methodology gave 4 potential scales that could be used here to measure levels of organisational trust with the participant in the contact as the referent. These are listed alongside their pros and cons in Table 5.3.

Table 5.2 Systematic Review of Prejudice Measurement Scales

Name	Author (Date)	Pros	Cons
Social Dominance Orientation	Pratto et al. (1994)	- Short. Only contains 16 items. - Focused on general attitudes towards other groups. - Recently updated - High reliability and validity.	- Works best when combined with other scales such as the Right Wing Authoritarianism scale.
Stereotype Content Model	Fiske et al. (2002)	-Intentions towards and from other groups are measured. This fits	- Reliability is hard to measure over time because of shifting societal norms.

		with ABI measures in the trust field. - High validity.	- Measures societal consensus as opposed to individual perceptions. - Though using ranked data, it does not use Likert Scales and may be difficult for respondents to grasp.
Symbolic Racism Scale	Henry & Sears (2002)	- Recently updated. - High validity. - Short. 10 items.	- Highly focussed on race. - The scale measures most effectively only from a majority (normally White) perspective. This is not suitable for Catalyst.
Implicit Association Test	Greenwald et al. (1998)	- Can be used for all types of outgroups. - Full tests are available online for free.	- Though using ranked data, it does not use Likert Scales and may be difficult for respondents to grasp. - Low reliability and replicability in some studies. - Not quick to complete.
Indirect Priming Measure of Racism	Fazio et al. (1995)	- A more indirect method of	- Highly focussed on race.

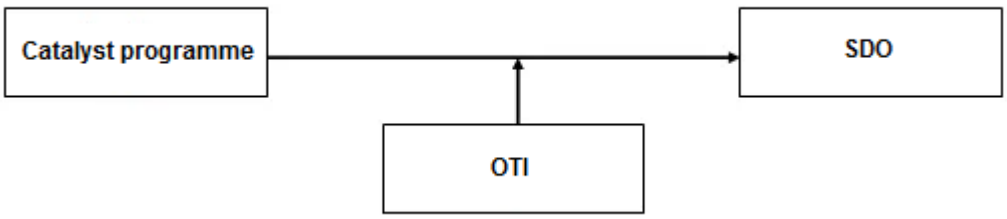
		ascertaining prejudice than directly asking.	- Involves respondents looking at photographs. Hard to implement and doesn't tie in with trust scales well. In hindsight should have been excluded. - Requires pre-screening.
Aversive Racism Measure	Dovidio et al. (1986)	- High validity. - A good predictor of wider attitudes than just race.	- Highly focussed on race. - Somewhat dated. - Best used in strict experimental conditions.

Table 5.3 Systematic Review of Organisational Trust Measurement Scales

Name	**Author (Date)**	**Pros**	**Cons**
Organisational Trust Inventory	Cummings & Bromiley (1996)	- A short form is available with 12 items. - Catalyst delegates are suitable (internal) candidates to use the scale. - Well cited. - The most reliable predictor of organisational trust attitudes.	- Some of the items ask uncomfortable questions around vulnerability and trust. These raise ethical concerns around use with young people.

Employee's Trust Propensity	Huff & Kelley (2003)	- Only 4 items. By far the shortest. - General focus on anyone involved in an organisation (despite the name).	- 4 items mean that this is rather short. May be difficult to generate good results. - Not as widely used as other scales.
Trust in Supervisor Scale	Clark & Payne (1997)	- High validity. - Reliable predictor of attitudes.	-23 items make this too long. - Looks specifically at relationships between employees and senior managers. Possibly not transferable.
Trust Within Organisations	Tyler (2003)	- Only 7 items.	- Looks specifically at relationships between employees and senior managers. Possibly not transferable.

From these systematic reviews, I have decided to use the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) as developed by Pratto et al. (1994) whilst participant levels of organisational trust towards the body supporting the contact will be measured using the Organizational Trust Inventory (OTI) as developed by Cummings & Bromiley (1996). This means that the correlational model used is as below:



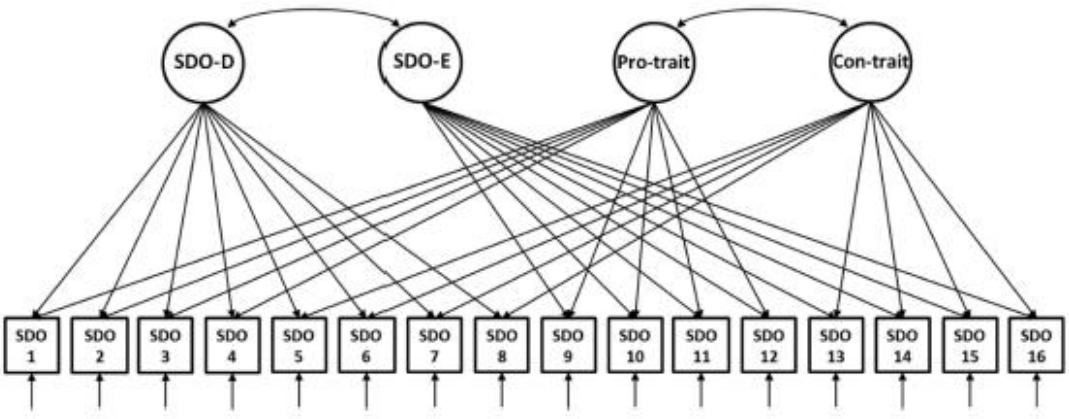
5.5.2 Social Dominance Orientation

The SDO is a measure for individual expressions of preference towards unequal relationships between different groups (Pratto et al. 1994). Individuals with high SDO scores tend to favour clear and unequal hierarchies in intergroup relations and often this involves the endorsement of patriarchal, generational, racial minority hegemony. Importantly, high SDO scores are a significant predictor of ethnic prejudices (Levin et al. 2012). As the SDO measures individual's attitudes towards group dominance and inequality, as opposed to their individual attitudes (Pratto et al. 1994), is particularly relevant and suited to this research. The SDO also correlates well with other scales which attempt to measure similar prejudices. These include the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE) and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWE) scales. Additionally, the short, 16 item structure of the SDO alongside the fact that it is a significant predictor of prejudices at group rather than individual level make this scale the preferred option for this research.

The research used the most recent SDO-7 scale. This is because the SDO-7 scale makes slight amendments to split items into a Dominance Sub-Scale and an Anti-Egalitarian Sub-Scale (Ho et al. 2015). Whilst this adds an extra layer of complexity to the research and analysis, it also potentially adds an extra layer of depth to the findings.

The SDO-7 scale (henceforth simply referred to as SDO) is split into two dimensions and these are SDO-D and SDO-E. The former focusses on attitudes related to intergroup dominance and the latter intergroup anti-egalitarianism or opposition to equality. Both of these have pro and con trait subsets and the split between dimensions and subsets, and how they tie to each of the 16 questions in the scale, is shown in the diagram below:

Figure 5.1 SDO-7 dimensions and subsets (Ho et al. 2015)



The SDO-D dimension is the better predictor of support for aggression against and hostility towards disadvantaged or low-status groups and is what might more commonly be known as "old-fashioned" racism (Ho et al. 2012, 2015). This is often the support for overt, violent or belligerent maintenance of the dominance of advantaged groups over disadvantaged groups. The SDO-E dimension sits on the other end of the spectrum of oppressive behaviours and is the better predictor of an individual's support for beliefs which justify and re-enforce inequalities. This includes showing a preference towards lower social mobility and a tendency to equate individual or group success to the *"protestant work ethic"* (Weber 1905) is typical of this. The SDO-E dimension marks an individual's preference for the maintenance of inequality through subtler means that those in SDO-D (Ho 2015). SDO-D is direct and confrontation oppression whereas SDO-E is a lower key limiting and restricting access to power and resources. This gives a balanced approach to studying different forms of prejudice rather than pre-supposed forms and fits with the more inductive research design.

A final strength of the SDO is that it looks at attitudes towards outgroups generally as opposed to any specific type of outgroup. Three of the scales captured by the systematic review were focussed on racial outgroups only and using these would have limited my research to only looking at intergroup contact scenarios between people of different races. The ease of use of the SDO also gave it an edge. In hindsight the Aversive Racism Measure and the Indirect Priming Measure of Racism were unsuitable and could have been excluded by adding extra criteria to the systematic review.

The main critique of the SDO is that the format of it, and the focus of the outcomes of the measures, have shifted since inception and that the newer formats now measure a much broader spectrum of prejudice than the initial SDO (Rubin & Hewstone 2004). There is then a lack of comparability between earlier and later versions of the scale. It is therefore vital that the researcher employs just one version of the SDO scale and is upfront and clear about which version is employed.

The SDO-7 was the most contemporary scale at the time of the research and was chosen for this reason and because it allows for the separate analysis of the SDO-D and SDO-E dimensions and their sub-domains. Previous versions of the SDO did not allow for this level of depth.

5.5.3 The Organisational Trust Inventory (OTI)

The OTI is a measure of organisational trust whereby organisational trust refers to the degree of trust between units of an organisation (1996: 302). As Catalyst programme

delegates are involved in the programme as internal stakeholders and tend to identify as such (Pirson & Malhotra 2010), this is an appropriate measure. McEvily & Tortoriello (2011) cite the OTI as being one of the best tools for measuring organisational trust of the many that are available.

Cummings and Bromiley acknowledge that the full OTI with 62 questions is *"overly long for many uses"* (1996: 317) and therefore developed a short form version of the OTI. This short form version is comprised of 12 items and *"provides a more usable questionnaire without sacrificing substantial measurement assets"* (1996: 318). This is of a similar length to the 16 item SDO and ensured that combining the two did not produce an undesirable and overly long questionnaire. This was not the case with some of the other scales generated by the systematic review.

The short form of the OTI also relates closely to the three key organisational attributes assessed by individuals when assessing trustworthiness (Mayer et al. 1995). As detailed in the Literature Review, these are the perceived ability, benevolence and integrity of the referent. In an organisational context, ability covers the technical competence of an organisation to perform tasks expected of it, benevolence is the trustor's expectation of the organisations concern for his well-being and integrity is the extent to which the trustor believes that the organisation will act in an open, honest and fair manner. Being able to analyse and code data against these 3 attributes enabled a detailed understanding of the facets of trust which were important in the relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact.

Other measures were not chosen because they either lacked the same high degree of predictability of attitudes as the OTI or because it is felt that they were too short to add depth to the research. The Clark & Payne (2003) and Tyler (1997) scales were also ranked below the OTI as they focus on more specific relationships between individuals and organisations and there is little agreement as to how transferable they are if used to measure other relationships (Dietz & Den Hartog 2006).

5.6 Pilot Study

A pilot study with one Catalyst cohort took place in the West Midlands in September 2016. Robson (2011: 405) recommends that a pilot study always be the first stage of data collection and notes that such studies are particularly useful when the research incorporates questionnaires. Though the questionnaires in the study proper were completed online by participants, the pilot study allowed the participants to complete the questionnaires on paper in the session. This approach was based on guidance from Sansone et al. who put the case

that when methodology involves collecting data online that a pilot study take place in which a cohort are observed working through the materiel and interviewed afterwards about their experience in doing so (2004: 368).

Full ethical approval was sought, and granted by Coventry University, for the pilot study prior to it taking place.

Data collected in the pilot study was not aggregated into the final datasets. Rather, the aim of the pilot study, as outlined in the Methodology section was to test for potential issues as detailed in section 5.4.2.

As such, participants were asked to complete the pre-course questionnaire and were given exactly the same briefing as those in the main study, and then a short focus group was conducted to assess the participant experience and the questionnaire ease of use. There were 11 participants in the focus group and these 11 represented the full available Catalyst cohort for this session. The sample was therefore a convenience sample in as much as they are a non-probability group which are available and at hand (Robson 2011: 275). This fits with the research methodology for the wider research in which participants will be all available Catalyst delegates. This is a robust and tested approach for research in which a hypothesis aims to test the relationship between a variable and an intervention (Campbell 1969: 360-362). Convenience samples are used in around 80% of published social psychology research (Howitt & Cramer 2008: 55).

The focus group was chaired by myself and audio from the focus group was recorded using the Phillips Voice Recorder app on a Samsung S5 Edge smartphone. The smartphone was placed on the table in front of focus group participants. An audio recording was used as this allows for a more accurate and complete record of conversation and events for the researcher (Sapsford and Jupp 1996: 87). This audio recording was then transcribed by the researcher listening back and typing into Microsoft Word. As the entire transcript consisted of a single 19 minute recording, there was no need to export the final transcript into specialist software.

An analysis of the content was conducted. As the analysis was focussed on the process of completing the questionnaires and not on the outcome or results of the questionnaires, it was not necessary to draw out any conclusion which would impact on the hypothesis itself. As such, no methods of analytic induction (Bryman and Bell 2011: 574) were employed. Instead a straightforward narrative analysis took place. The core findings were that:

- The questionnaire was easy to understand and straightforward. The language used was clear.
- The one exception to this is where participants were asked to generate their personal reference code (used to protect anonymity and allow for data withdrawal and to link the pre and post questionnaires). Here the instructions were as follows: *"You may withdraw your participation after the study has taken place at any time. Your data will be completely anonymous. In order to withdraw your data we will ask you to create a unique participant code, that only you will be able to recreate. Please create your code here by entering the first 2 letters of your surname followed by the day of the month on which you were born. EG: John Smith born on 15/06/90 would enter SM15."* This was felt to be confusing and as such will be amended.
- All participants on the course had a previous awareness of the programme and a loose idea of what it would entail. None had any specific curriculum details. All were there voluntarily.
- No concerns were raised over the questions asked around prejudice or institutional trust. Some participants felt that the questions were *"a bit strange"* or "*really to the point"* but given the context of the Catalyst programme, there was a clear understanding of why the questions were being asked.
- The general assumption with regards to the questions on institutional trust was that they formed a part of the evaluation of the Catalyst programme. All participants were comfortable in answering the questions, but the facilitator did flag up that this may be because there were pre-existing relationships between the facilitator and the participants (though not between the participants themselves). In a different situation, such as a school or college, the participants may have had little or no previous interaction with the programme or programme representatives. This could make the questions challenging to answer.

The findings from the pilot study were passed on to CUF and agreement was given for the study proceeding as planned.

5.7 Validity, Limitations and Ethical Considerations

This section follows the devising of the methodological approach and serves two purposes. The first of these is to encourage myself as the researcher to step back and to appraise the approach to check for likely issues and problems and to remedy these before research commences.

The second purpose of this section is to document the actual data collection issues which occurred and the impact that they had on the research and data. This is written retrospectively but does not warrant a standalone chapter in terms of size or content and is a strong fit here.

5.7.1 Validity

Good research is research which produces outcomes which can be relied upon to be accurate measures of the outcomes which it intends to measure (Denscombe 1999). This means that research with high validity produces results which correspond closely to actual properties and real-world characteristics of the subject and, within this, four different areas of validity in research have been identified. These are internal, external, statistical and construct (Morling 2014), and having a sound and consistent methodological approach builds the foundation of validity in each of these areas.

Internal validity is the ability of a study to support claims of cause and effect within it. The internal validity of a study is ascertained by how well it can justify that the claims and findings which it makes are correctly attributed and this will typically involve ruling out systemic error, researcher bias and accounting for confounding, or unforeseen, variables (Brewer 2000).

This research ensures internal validity by conducting a statistical analysis of findings which measure and account for the influence of confounding variables. ANOVA is used where there are potential participant variables in the research including gender, age, religion, the method of recruitment of participants, their previous experience of programmes similar to Catalyst and of community leadership. These variables are drawn from previous studies and experiences which suggest that they may have some influence on outcomes and the ANOVA analysis will ensure that they are accounted for and that the findings possess internal validity.

External validity refers to the extent to which results can be generalised to other situations, organisations or participants and so on beyond those which are specifically researched in the study (Aronson et al 2009). Issues of poor external validity tend to occur most when research, typically of an experimental design, is conducted in way that is artificial (Bauman 2014). Here conditions which are unachievable or not replicable in real world situations can produce results which are also not replicable or achievable in real world situations.

Issues of poor external validity will not be a concern in this research because of the case study nature of the work and the fact that no variables are being controlled or manipulated within it. As shown in Chapter 3, the Catalyst programme is representative and typical of

contemporary intergroup contact programmes in the UK and so results from the study should be generalisable to other typical intergroup contact programmes.

Statistical validity is simply the ability of the statistics used in a study to support the conclusions which they are being used to make (Bryman & Cramer 1999). This can often be conflated with external validity but, though there is often crossover, they are not the same. In this research statistical validity will be guaranteed through the testing of results for statistical significance. To be considered statistically significant, there must be less than a 1 in 20 probability that the findings of the quantitative analysis were down to chance (Bryman & Cramer 1999: 105).

Construct validity is the extent to which the measurements used in a study are actually capable of measuring or testing the theory that they are being used for (Mac Ginty & Richmond 2013). These means that measures used in a study should both be appropriate for that study and, preferably, tested elsewhere too. This research ensures construct validity by using well-established and studied scales for the measuring of both participant prejudice and participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact. The systematic review in this chapter evidences that a clear and objective approach to using accredited and appropriate scales was employed.

Finally, where research where findings cannot be replicated, they can be questioned and seen to lack credibility so it is therefore essential that the procedural methodology is detailed and descriptive enough to allow other researchers to undertake similar research under similar conditions should they wish to do so (Bryman & Bell 2007).

5.7.2 Ethical considerations

This research was planned and conducted in accordance at all times with Coventry University's 'Data Protection and Principles and Standards of Conduct on the Governance of Applied Research policies'. Approval was sought and granted by the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations Ethics Committee prior to the commencement of both the case study and the research proper. As part of this process a data management plan was created to ensure the safety of my participants and the data collected during the research.

Participants in the Catalyst programme were asked by their facilitator to complete pre and post course online questionnaires. These were hosted on Online surveys (formerly BOS) and were effectively an extension of the standard Catalyst evaluation form that participants are given the option to complete. This means that the research process was not unduly disruptive or injurious to programme delivery. Participants were asked to create their own

unique identification codes so that they were able to ask for their data to be withdrawn if they wish. Electronic data that is stored was completely anonymised and stored in password protected files.

The active consent of participants in the research was secured through a variety of methods. Firstly, a participant information sheet was included in the packs that all Catalyst participants receive as a part of their registration with the programme. This runs alongside the CUF evaluation and registration processes and so is before any research or data collection commences.

All participants involved in this strand of the research were given the option of partaking in the research when they are recruited to the programme by CUF and in the participant information sheet. It was made clear to participants that their place on the programme was not conditional upon them being involved in the research and that there would be no reward or sanction for them should they choose either to be involved or to abstain.

The use of the unique participant identification codes, though amended and simplified after the pilot study phase, did continue to cause issues and a failure to match the pre and post course questionnaires of many participants did lead to a smaller sample of quantitative data than otherwise would have been gathered and matched. It is not known whether or not participants deliberately entered different codes or if this was a genuine error on their part but, as participation was voluntary, it is more likely to be the latter.

Former participants of the programme who were willing to take part in interviews were interviewed in a semi-structured format. Those recruited to interviews were initially contacted by CUF to see if they wished to take part and all those contacted had previously consented to being contacted in the future by CUF when they completed the Catalyst programme. These interviews were audio recorded and transcribed in full.

All participants in both strands of data collection were given the participant information sheet and the informed consent form in advance of their involvement. This made clear to participants what the purpose of the work was, answered any common questions and covered the data protection elements. My contact details were given to all participants in both strands should they have any unanswered questions, concerns or if they wished to withdraw their data. No participants made contact and none asked for their data to be withdrawn after participation.

All participants in the quantitative research will be aged 16 years or older at the start of their engagement with it and all interviewees in the qualitative study will be aged 18 or older. As

the Catalyst programme works with young people aged 16 and over, it was important and ethical to allow all participants on the programme to participate fully in the research and parallel programme evaluation, if they so wished to, and therefore the decision was made to not exclude those aged under 18 from this aspect of the research. The Catalyst programme does not, and cannot, work with young people aged under 16, and so their potential inclusion in this research, and the ethical and consent complications that this would bring was not an issue.

CUF and the Catalyst programme operate on the basis of individuals aged 16 and over being able to give their own informed consent to participate in the programme and any research which is involved in it. Previous evaluations of the Catalyst programme, and other interventions with young people in the same age brackets, meant that issues with the CTPSR Ethics Committee were avoided as this had occurred and been resolved in previous research projects.

To this end the position was taken that participants were presented with information and the ability to consent to participation in-line with their competencies and that they must be seen to be capable of providing and understanding the assent of their consent to participate (Morrow and Richards 1996). Alderson and Morrow (2011) argue that it is correct to assume that school age participants are competent of consent to participate in research, unless their parent or guardian states otherwise. This approach allowed for a parental opt out.

It is vital too that participants were aware that they could opt out of the research themselves and that they do not feel obliged to take part just because an adult who is responsible for them has said that they can or should (Balen et al. 2006). Assent for participation was given by all participants at every different stage of the data collection process and they were made aware that they can withdraw both their participation and their data at any time they wish. This is in-line with the approach to assent in young people taken by Groundwater-Smith, Dockett & Bottrell (2015) whereby assent is recognised as being a fluid and ongoing process that may be subject to change and revision over the course of the research.

5.7.3 Data collection issues

Data collection for this research has been hampered by a number of situations outside of the control of the research. Though the pilot study went well and without any reported problems from participants, a Course Director on the Catalyst programme was concerned that some of the questions in the pre and post questionnaires could cause safeguarding issues. These questions, adapted from the Organizational Trust Inventory Short Form (Cummings & Bromiley 1996) were:

"To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: I think that the people running Catalyst take advantage of my problems."

"To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement: I feel that the people running Catalyst take advantage of people who are vulnerable."

As the Course Director raised an issue with the work, Church of England policy meant that the research had to be placed on hold pending a decision from the Church of England Safeguarding Advisor. The questions above were felt to raise potential issues not around causing harm themselves but in exposing any harm caused by the Catalyst programme itself and therefore the Course Director was concerned that the programme would need to be put on hold should any respondent believe that the programme does take advantage of personal problems or vulnerabilities. This fits with the safeguarding guidance issued around such abuses; *"We will seek to challenge any abuse of power, especially by anyone in a position of trust"* (Church of England 2016)

Safeguarding is protecting people from situations which are injurious to their health, well-being and which impinge on their human rights (Church of England 2016). This covers any incidents of harm, abuse or neglect and is equally applicable to children and young people, adults and vulnerable adults (Munro 2011). In the West Midlands, the term 'at risk' is used instead of 'vulnerable adults' (Birmingham Safeguarding Adults Board, 2014). The West Midlands is a Catalyst area, but for the sake of clarity in this thesis, the more widely used term of 'vulnerable adults' will be used.

The Church of England and, by extension, CUF are particularly sensitive to safeguarding issues because of previous failings in their duty of care, particularly with regards to high-profile sexual abuse cases. At the time that this issue with the research was raised, the Church was embroiled in a major safeguarding case with regards to the bell ringing corps at York Minster Cathedral and so the Catalyst team were acutely aware of the importance of raising safeguarding concerns.

The resolution to this issue, as put forward by the Safeguarding Advisor, was the insertion of the following text which signposts Catalyst participants to a trained CUF worker who can offer support and guidance if required.

"If completing these questions about trust has raised any issues that you would like to talk to someone about, then please email Liz Carnelley (elizabeth.carnelley@cuf.org.uk) for advice and support."

Following this insertion, the National Safeguarding Advisor was happy that the research goes ahead as initially planned. However, the delay caused meant that a crucial 2-month period from October 2016 to December 2016 was missed. Several programme cohorts started in this time and, because of the need for baseline readings on prejudice and organisational trust, were lost to the research.

A second, equally significant, delay to the fieldwork was caused by the unexpected call of a General Election in June 2017. Catalyst is a strand of the DCLG (now MHCLG) funded 'Near Neighbours' programme and receives annual funding, typically from April 1st to March 31st the following year. In this instance, funding for the programme ended on March 31st, 2017. It was expected by CUF and DCLG that the programme would continue to be funded and that this funding would be in place immediately on April 1st 2017 and recruitment for May and June Catalyst cohorts to start immediately. Catalyst does not run during the school summer holidays or Ramadan. In 2017 these are blackout dates of 22nd June to 3rd September and 26th May to 24th June.

Purdah, in the UK, is the name given to pre and post-election period in which central and local government are unable to announce any new decisions regarding policy, funding or administrative and legislative changes which could be perceived as benefitting a group or political party. This period typically runs from the announcement of the election up to the forming of a new government. That the 2017 General Election was not scheduled in advance and that there was an unusually long period of time between the election and government being formed caused a significant funding gap to the 'Near Neighbours' programme, and many others.

As a result of this funding gap the 'Near Neighbours' programme was placed on hold and, though efforts were made to retain staff, 5 of the 12 local Co-ordinators left their posts and found work elsewhere. As the local Co-ordinators are typically the lead recruiters for the Catalyst programme, this had implications and led to a restructuring of the programme when funding was awarded in July 2017. The first 2017/18 Catalyst courses then took place in late September 2017 and around 6 months behind schedule. Following this, there were no further issues with data collection.

5.7.4 Limitations

This research, as with all such pieces, will have limitations to it and it is important that these are acknowledged and appreciated ahead of the data collection, analysis and results stages of the work. This can help with keeping the data collected, and the inferences drawn from it, in a realistic context and to prevent any over-reach in drawing conclusions.

Checking the methodology for limitations prior to the ethical approval and data collection stage also served as a check that the approach was sound and that it will collect all the data that is required to address the hypothesis and to address the aims of the research.

The main limitation of the correlational study approach is that it cannot determine causality between the variables and so we can learn that organisational trust and intergroup contact outcomes are related through the work, but we cannot learn if one causes the other. A study which looked at causality would typically be one which takes a regression approach to data collection and analysis could show causality, but this would involve some presupposition that the relationship between the variables exists and a greater control of extraneous, and monitoring of confounding, variables than a case study.

The other limitation to the study, as already addressed in section 5.3 is that participants in the research are self-selecting as they will have chosen to partake in the Catalyst programme and then this research. Therefore it may be the case that only those with lower levels of prejudice towards others wish to be involved in intergroup contact via Catalyst or that only those who trust the programme wish to take part in it and, by extension, this research.

These limitations will be appraised and emergent documented in the Chapter 8, the conclusion, of this piece.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter presents and qualifies a robust approach to research design, data collection and analysis which is coherent with the positivistic approach and realist ontology employed. This methodology is capable of addressing the aims of the research and hypothesis and the use of established scales and measures ensure a validity and depth of understanding in the findings.

The data collection methods were successfully tested in the pilot study and amendments were made before the data collection proper began. Similarly, ethical approval was sought and gained prior to any data collection taking place and the potential involvement of participants aged 16 and 17 saw that extra rigour was added to this process.

The data collection and analysis plan are a consistent and coherent fit to the methodological approach taken and are likely to generate robust and credible findings. The presentation, analysis and discussion of the data takes place in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. Chapter 6 presents the analysis and findings from the quantitative analysis and has a short discussion section which frames the thematic approach to data analysis in Chapter 7. In Chapter 7 the

qualitative data is analysed, presented and discussed in much greater detail within the context of the quantitative findings in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6: Quantitative Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis, results and discussion of the quantitative aspect of the research. The first section of this chapter presents the relevant background and demographic data from the sample. After this the distribution of the data related to organisational trust and prejudice is tested for normality to determine which analytical tools will be used in later sections.

Section 6.3.1 then details the effectiveness of Catalyst as an intergroup contact intervention by analysing the extent to which the programme impacts on participant prejudice and how these effects are shown across different dimensions of the SDO. This is important to establish Catalyst as an intergroup contact intervention and to develop a more detailed understanding of the types of prejudice which it impacts upon. The same analysis is then carried out in section 6.3.2 to establish the effect of the Catalyst programme on organisational trust and the subdomains within this.

Next in 6.4 known and potential moderators of the intergroup contact response, including pre-contact anxiety, are explored and detailed to ensure that they are not confounding variables. This means that any effects of the intervention attributed to organisational trust as a moderator are done so correctly and that these other variables do not distort the relationship observed between prejudice and organisational trust outcomes.

The data and analysis in sections 6.3 and 6.4 frames and sets up the correlational analysis of the relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact in section 6.5. This is the main focus of the research and directly addresses the aims of the research.

The findings of the analysis in all sections are then discussed in section 6.6. The outcomes of this chapter are then used to frame the analysis of the qualitative data in the following chapter before the two are bought together in Chapter 8: Conclusion.

Tables containing the larger datasets and SPSS outputs in this chapter are in Appendix 5.

6.2 Data Descriptor

Data was collected from Catalyst participants before programme delivery began and at the end of their time on the programme. This was via an online questionnaire as detailed in the Methodology chapter. The full questionnaires can be found in Appendix 3 and Appendix 4.

The questionnaires both were open from 01/01/17 to 01/07/2019. This was the period of time which the Catalyst programme was active for in this iteration and sufficient time was given to participants after the final run of the programme in this period to ensure that they were able to complete the online questionnaire before it was closed.

In total the pre-course questionnaire was completed by 173 participants and the post-course questionnaire by 128. This questionnaire was the sole evaluation tool used by the Catalyst programme during the period in which it ran and there is no data available from CUF with regards to how many participants in total there were on the programme during this timeframe. The lack of programme participant totals means that it is not possible to calculate a completion rate of the pre and post course questionnaires. Using unique participation identification codes it was possible to identity 45 participants who had completed both the pre and post course questionnaires and to pair these together. It is these 45 participants that constitute the final sample for this research.

This is a lower completion rate than had been expected and the need to produce paired participant datasets meant that the usable sample was smaller and that much data went unused. The dataset was still large enough to generate statistical significance in the findings though and this emphasises that where significance does occur, that the data is likely to be of good quality. With a small sample the data is less likely to be statistically significant, but if significance does occur then it means that the result is worthwhile despite the small sample size.

The majority of participants in the final sample are female (71.1%) and at the younger end of the age spectrum at which Catalyst operates. In total, 66.7% of participants in the sample were aged 16-18 at the start of their involvement whilst only 17.8% were aged 22 or above at the start of their involvement. Compared to previous studies of the Catalyst programme, the cohort here is slightly younger than before with 16-18 years old in the 2016 evaluation of the programme (CUF 2016) comprising 45.8% of the sample and those 22 years old and above 41.7%. The variance between the sample in this research and the numbers seen in previous studies are likely to be related to changes in the recruiting methods and focus of the programme over that period of time rather than any sampling errors.

Catalyst, at the time of this research, focussed recruitment and delivery through schools and colleges and so was attracting cohorts which were comparatively younger than previously. In total 80% of those in the final sample were recruited to the programme through their school or college with the bulk of the remainder being recruited either through the ‘Near Neighbours’ programme or other existing relationships.

Table 6.1 Sample totals by Gender & Age

Gender	Total	%
Female	32	71.1
Male	12	26.7
Other/Prefer not to say	1	2.2

Age	Total	%
16-18	30	66.7
19-21	7	15.6
22-25	4	8.9
26+	4	8.9

There was no overall majority in terms of religious background of participants in the sample. Christian participants were the largest single group (35.6%) followed by participants of no faith background (31.1%) and Muslim participants (20%). There being no faith group majority is typical of previous studies of the Catalyst programme.

Over half (55.6%) of participants in the sample coming from the London region is untypical of previous studies of the Catalyst programme or of the rollout of the iteration of it which ran during the period covered by this research. It is possible that Catalyst trainers in the London region placed more emphasis on the study than those in other regions. In the 2016 study only 26.1% of participants were from London.

Table 6.2 Sample totals by Religion & Region

Religion	Total	%
Christian	16	35.6
Muslim	9	20.0
All other	6	13.3
None	14	31.1

Region	Total	%
East Midlands	12	26.7
Lancashire	1	2.2
London	25	55.6
Other	4	11.1
West Midlands	1	2.2
Yorkshire	1	2.2

The Catalyst programme pitches itself as being a leadership programme for young people which is aimed at developing creative leaders who will act as positive role models in their neighbourhoods and communities. Overall, 33.3% of those in the sample had some prior experience of being in a leadership role in their local or faith community and some participants came into the intervention with relevant prior experience of other, similar programmes. In total these accounted for 15.5% of the sample and the prior experience tended to be related to other social action interventions, such as the Duke of Edinburgh

Award and work with the Prince's Trust. There is some overlap between those with prior leadership experience and those with prior experience on similar programmes.

Catalyst has never recorded data around prior experience before and so there is no comparator here. This data is important though as there may be some relationship between prior experience and the intervention response and, if this exists, it will need to be accounted for.

Table 6.3 Sample Previous Relevant Experience

Involved in a similar programme before	Total	%
Yes	7	15.5
No	31	69.0
Don't know	7	15.5

Involved in a leadership position in faith or community	Total	%
Yes	15	33.3
No	27	60.0
Don't know	3	6.7

The demographic data and that related to previous experience, presented in this chapter generally shows a good spread across the programme. The exception to this is the local area from which participants are from which is overly London centric. There are no specific reasons to believe that any of this data, including local area, is likely to affect the results of the analysis of the relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact, but this is checked and verified in section 6.4 to confirm that none are confounding variables and to account for them if they are.

As detailed in the Methodology chapter, the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale was used to measure the response to the intervention and the Organisational Trust Inventory (OTI) was used to measure the moderator. Participants were also asked about their levels of anxiety in spending time on the course with people who are different to themselves. These three datasets were collected pre and post course and constitute the bulk of the data to be used in analysis going forward.

In order to test for the normal distribution of data from the dependent variables, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov & Shapiro-Wilk tests of Normality were used. Whether data is normally distributed or not identifies which measures are appropriate to use to analyse it, and so this is an important exercise.

This test looks at difference of the actual distribution to the normal distribution, with normal distribution being the null hypothesis. The OTI and SDO datasets show a difference that is not statistically significant and so we don't reject the null of normalcy and the parametric test assumptions are met with a significance above the 0.05 level. However, the datasets related to anxiety do show a statistically significant difference and therefore reject the null hypothesis of normalcy and will require non-parametric testing. This data is shown in full in Appendix 5, Table A.

6.3 Catalyst as an intervention

This section tests the datasets to determine whether they are suitable for addressing the research aims in section 6.5. This groundwork must be done to ensure that any outcomes related to the relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact are valid.

In order for this to be the case it must be established that the Catalyst programme is an appropriate case study for an intergroup contact intervention and that it is possible to track participant trust in the organisation in a reliable and significant manner. Additionally, this analysis will also identify which facets and subsections of the prejudice and trust scales used are of most relevance to the research and are thus worthy of a greater level of focus and testing in section 6.5.

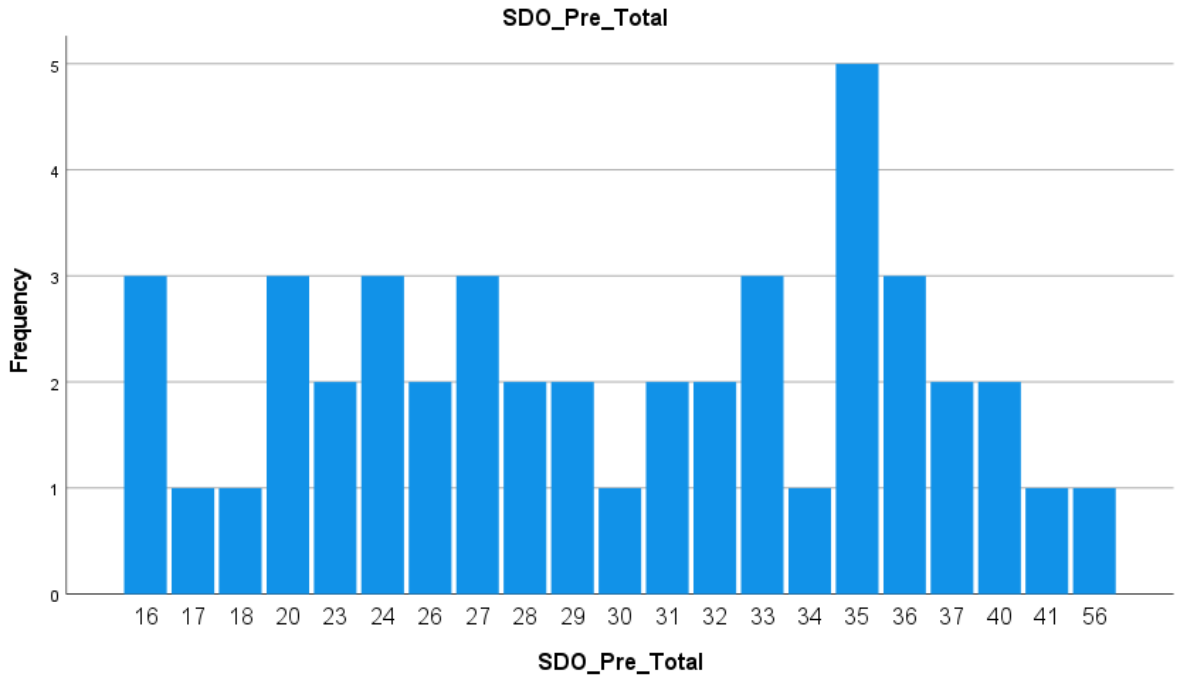
This will begin with an exploration of the effect of the intervention on participant prejudice, as measured by SDO, and the subsets of this and be followed by a similar analysis which looks at the effect of the intervention on participant trust towards the organisation, as measured by the OTI, and the subsets of this.

6.3.1 The effect of the intervention on participant prejudice as measured by the Social Dominance Orientation scale

To begin it was important to determine whether the pre-course SDO score was sufficient to see change take place as a result of the intervention and so both the mean and the distribution of the range of results within the data were checked. If all participants came into the intervention with very low levels of prejudice, then there would be extremely limited scope for the intervention to have any effect. Whilst this research is not appraising the effectiveness of Catalyst as an intergroup contact intervention, the intervention being at least theoretically capable of influencing participant prejudice is vital to addressing the aims of the research.

The data shows that from a possible range of 16-80, the observed range of SDO scores was 16-56 with a mean of 29.58. On the SDO scale a lower score is associated with lower levels of prejudice. The distribution histogram here is negatively skewed with 60% of pre-course SDO scores falling in the lower, 16 to 32 quadrant. This means that there are a significant proportion of participants entering the intervention with levels of prejudice that allow for there to be feasible scope for change to occur to the SDO score as a result of the intervention.

Figure 6.1 Participant pre-course prejudice



Having established above that there is scope for prejudice reduction to take place and as reduced prejudice is an assumed outcome of Catalyst, a t-test was performed on paired samples of pre-course and post-course SDO data. With a starting mean of 29.58 and an end mean of 28.09, there was an observable decline in SDO scores of -1.49 and this is, indeed, consistent with Catalyst reducing prejudice. However, analysing the data using a t-test, this was not found to be a statistically significant difference (2 tailed $p>0.198$ and 1 tailed $p>0.099$). The full SPSS outputs for this data can be found in Appendix 5, Tables B and C.

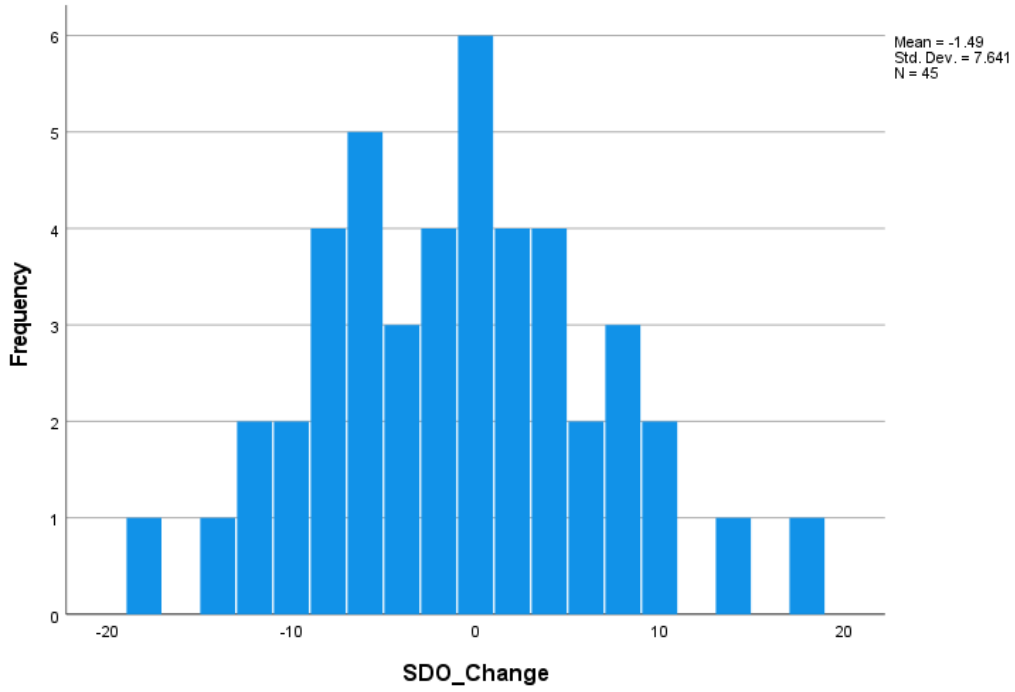
This means that despite the reduction in the mean prejudice scores, that the programme does not meet the academically required standard for statistical reliability in reducing participant prejudice. This is an important finding, but not one which undermines the suitability of Catalyst as a case study. It was more important to this research that there was scope for prejudice change to occur than that it did.

That a statistically significant change did not occur is an unexpected result and one which warrants further analysis. The approach taken here is to look at individual change rather than overall averages as this should give a clearer picture as to the impact on individual participants. The histogram below shows that change in SDO score did occur for most participants and that this change was highly varied.

In terms of prejudice reduction as measured by SDO a positive outcome from the perspective of the Catalyst programme involves the participant having a negative number as a lower SDO score means that participant prejudice has gone down. Moderate SDO change was seen in 21 of the 45 participants with scores in -2 to +2 range, whilst the overall spectrum of change covered by participants was -18 to +18.

This suggests that negative contact occurred for some participants which, in effect, when aggregated together cancelled out much of the positive contact experienced by others. Negative contact, which is where prejudice towards others increases is shown by a positive score in the SDO.

Figure 6.2 Participant prejudice change



The fact that the Catalyst programme does not on average significantly reduce prejudice may to some extent limit the usefulness of this data to analyse the relationship between this outcome and participant trust. However, just because there is no impact on average does not preclude there being a variation within the sample, and it is still possible that there will be some relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact

and the contact outcomes. At this stage it cannot be ruled out that individuals with more trust in the organisation do see greater reductions in prejudice more than those with low trust. On the other hand, it could also still be found that all participants, including those with high trust, didn't see reductions in prejudice. This latter outcome would still be an informative result and more specifically it would disprove the hypothesis.

It is also worthy of note that though there was no statistically significant prejudice reduction across the cohort as a result of the intervention, at an individual level 62% of participants did see their prejudice levels either reduce or stay very similar.

The fact that there are these limitations in the overall SDO score means that it may be more informative to focus on certain sub-measures of SDO. That the SDO scale has domains and subdomains which this analysis can be run on was one of the reasons for it being employed in this research. It is possible that some of these do show an overall average impact of Catalyst and thus may provide a more powerful test of the impact of trust as there is more scope to observe variation between participants. Additionally, this analysis will give further insight into how prejudice reduction in this intergroup contact scenario operates and which dimensions of prejudice are most effectively addressed and tackled within it.

SDO divides into two main subsets, with 8 of the 16 statements in the scale focussed on dominance (SDO-D) and the remaining 8 on anti-egalitarianism (SDO-E). These are then further subdivided into smaller subsets based on the phrasing of the statements. Here positively phrased statements are pro, for example SDO pro-trait dominance (SDO-PTD) and negatively phrased statements are con-trait dominance (SDO-CTD) with the same being the case for the anti-egalitarian subset becoming SDO-PAE and SDO-CAE.

As parametric assumptions are met and the interest here is to whether or not the intervention has effected a change in SDO pre-course and SDO post-course subset scores, a t-test is an appropriate test of whether this has occurred and to measure of the significance of any change. In the SDO-E subset, the mean shifted from 1.61 pre-course to 1.6 post-course and the change was not significant. Drilling down within the SDO-E subset there was no change in SDO-PAE at all (pre-course mean= 1.5, post-course mean= 1.5) and in the SDO-CAE there was a move from a mean of 1.72 pre-course to 1.69 post-course. Again, does not represent any degree of statistical significance.

However, within the SDO-D subset a move between pre-course and post-course means of 2.09 to 1.89 (-0.2) is observed and this is found to be statistically significant ($p=0.035$ two tailed) with the effect size of 0.324 (small to medium). This is driven by change in the SDO-PTD subset where pre-course and post-course means of 2.16 and 1.89 (-0.27) are

presented. Here, using the t-test, a statistically significant difference is observed with indications of a small to medium effect of the intervention (p=0.041 two tailed, effect size Cohen's d = .314). This is not the case in the SDO-CTD subset where pre-course and post-course means of 2.02 and 1.93 (-0.09) are presented and this is not deemed to be statistically significant (p=0.345). The full outputs can be found in Appendix 5, Tables D, E and F.

That SDO-PTD is found to be significantly effected in way that is positive with regards to the desired outcome of intergroup contact by the intervention opens up the possibility that the level of SDO-PTD that a participant brings into the intervention can be related to the outcome of it. Here, to test for a relationship between starting beliefs on the PTD subset and overall change in SDO score by paired participant, the Pearson's test of correlation is used. This is a parametric test and it has already established that the data meets the criteria for this. This is also appropriate as this is not an attempt to establish causation, merely any relationship between the two datasets, and thus fits into the correlational approach of the research methodology.

Pearson's shows a correlation of -0.256 which is statistically significant (p=0.045). The higher pre-course SDO-PTD is, the higher the SDO change that is observed. Running the same test against other subsets saw that no significant relationship was found between any of the pre-course SDO scores by subset and the overall change in SDO (CTD =-0.30, 0.421 PTAE = -0.119, 0.218 CTAE =0.021,0.445) and so this relationship is, in this study, unique to the SDO-PTD subset. The full output table can be found in Appendix, Table G.

This section has established that Catalyst is an appropriate case study for researching intergroup contact outcomes. There is scope in participant attitudes at the beginning of the programme for change is key and though the programme does not produce statistically significant prejudice reductions across the whole cohort across the SDO, it does so for some individuals and there are subsets of the SDO which do produce statistically significant outcomes. This analysis has identified that the SDO-D dimension and the SDO-PTD subset of this are of particular interest and this will allow greater focus on these in section 6.5 when the main research hypothesis is being addressed.

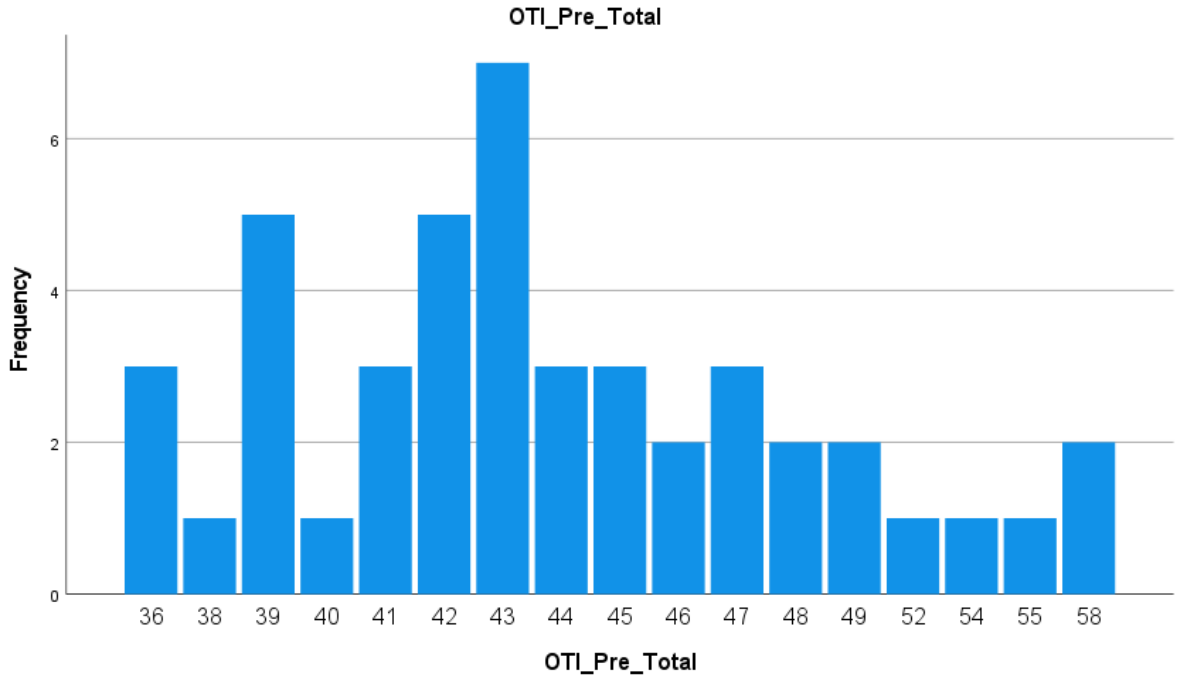
6.3.2 The effect of the intervention on participant trust towards the organisation as measured by the Organisational Trust Inventory

Similarly to the analysis in the previous section, it was important to determine whether the pre-course OTI score was sufficient to see change take place as a result of the intervention and so both the mean and the distribution of the range of results within the data were

checked. From a possible range of 12-60, the observed range of OTI scores was 36-58 with a mean of 44. The distribution histogram here is positively skewed with most pre-course OTI scores falling in the upper quadrant. In the OTI higher scores indicate higher organisational trust and lower scores indicate lower. This is shown in Figure 6.3.

This means that there is limited scope for change to occur to the OTI score as a result of the intervention as the sample does not represent persons with low trust in the organisation and so the ability to test the hypothesis is partly impeded as there is no way, within this data, to test the relationship with regards to low trust individuals. However, this does not mean that the data collected on OTI is of no use to the research or in testing some of the hypotheses. That there is limited scope for positive change to occur does not discount the possibility of some positive change or a great deal negative change, in the form of reduced organisational trust, occurring and neither does it prevent the study of relationships between pre-course and post-course OTI scores with SDO responses. This research is about the relationship between organisational trust and prejudice reducing outcomes and this data is suitable for exploring this relationship.

Figure 6.3 Participant pre-course organisational trust



The data does, though, show an increase in participant trust over the course of the intervention. post-course OTI scores showed a range of 35-60 and a mean of 49. This suggests that there is a process taking place over the course of the programme which serves to build organisational trust for the participants.

As the pre and post OTI data both meet the requirements for parametric testing, a t-test paired sample is a suitable measure of identifying if any change occurs as a result of the intervention and how strong and statistically reliable this change is. Despite the high starting level of participant trust documented above, a change was identified between pre-course and post-course OTI. With a mean starting at 44.13 and ending at 49.59 the changed observed was significant ($p<0.001$) with a Cohens effect size of -.712 reported, which indicates a medium to large effect.

As it has been established that the SDO-PTD subset is positively affected by the intervention, it is of interest to determine if there were significant changes observed between pre and post scores in any of the OTI subsets. This will show if any of the subsets bring about disproportionate amounts of change in overall OTI and can be judged to be important to the final outcome of the intervention as a result.

The case for this analysis is not as pressing as it was with the SDO subsets as there the data didn't have a significant change in average SDO, and so it was necessary to drill down into sub measures to get stronger explanatory power. With the overall OTI measure we do see a significant change and this could be considered sufficient to understand that change does take place. However, drilling down into the subsets adds value and insight to the research by identifying if a particular subset or area of the OTI is more or less impactful than others.

The perceptions of an individual towards the referent of trust with regards to the referents ability, benevolence and integrity (ABI) were presented by Mayer et al. (1995) as the three key organisational attributes assessed by individuals when assessing trustworthiness. The OTI can be divided into 3 subsets for each of ABI with the statements.

Paired sampled t-tests are employed here as the comparison is between the pre and post means of the same group following an intervention, and the aim is to find a change in these. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov & Shapiro-Wilk tests of Normality has been deemed that the OTI data is suitable for parametric testing.

Change here was seen to be statistically significant across all 3 of the subsets (mean change in Ability = 0.49, Benevolence = 0.4, Integrity = 0.46) and all of the subset changes

are statistically significant to p>0.001. The Cohens d effect sizes (A=.772, B=784, C=7.67) are also indicative of medium-large effects. This means that reliable and clear improvement in trust towards the organisation facilitating the contact is taking place, but that these improvements are spread fairly evenly across the 3 subsets and that none play a disproportionate role in this. The full outputs tables can be found in Appendix 5, Tables I and J.

This section demonstrates that Catalyst as an intervention is successful in building organisational trust with participants and that it does so relatively evenly across the 3 ABI subsets with none of the 3 having an elevated level of importance or effect. This informs the analysis in section 6.5 when the main research hypothesis is being addressed.

6.4 Identifying other potential moderators

The role of this section is to check for the existence of other moderators before we can examine the relationship between SDO and OTI. If other moderators did exist and have an impact on this relationship, then the methodology would need to change to control for them.

As such, this section presents the findings of analyses which test other known and potential moderators of the response to the intervention. These are any factors which are likely to positively or negatively have an effect on the change in prejudice felt by the participants towards outgroups. As prejudice in this study is measured by participant SDO score, the bulk of the analysis is concentrated on variables in relation to this. However, some analysis is also run against participant OTI scores to check for effect and to triangulate findings as much as is possible.

This section looks at potential confounding variables in turn. The first subsection focuses on pre-contact anxiety, and then the second at the datasets related to participant demographics.

6.4.1 Pre-contact anxiety

Pre-contact anxiety is widely recognised as being the major predictor of sub-optimal contact outcomes and negative contact outcomes in participants (Stephan & Stephan 1985, Crisp & Turner 2012, Vezzali et al. 2012). Therefore, it is vital to check and to understand the extent to which pre-contact anxiety may be impacting on this intervention and potentially distorting findings about the relationship between participant OTI scores and SDO scores.

For anxiety to be of concern in terms of potentially invalidating the statistical analysis, three things would have to hold. These all must be tested and are that:

1. There would have to be existing anxiety in participants, so that this is a relevant factor.

2. Anxiety would have to be related to SDO change, so that it is relevant to understanding the impact of the intervention.

3. Anxiety would have to be correlated with trust, so that failing to take this into account could lead to false conclusions as to the impact of trust on SDO change.

Firstly, the data shows that the intervention had a statistically significant impact on participant anxiety about spending time with people who are different to themselves. This is important as it demonstrates that pre-contact anxiety could potentially be a factor in any changes to SDO scores. Here the Wilcoxon test of difference between pre and post anxiety ranked scores was used to determine the impact of the intervention. As this dataset did not meet the criteria for normal distribution, this is an appropriate non-parametric test for paired/dependent samples. It is possible that the parameters for normal distribution were not met because the sample size for the anxiety dataset is smaller than that for OTI and SDO. There were more incomplete or nil returns for this section of the pre-course questionnaire.

On an ascending scale running from 1 to 5 with a starting mean of 2.69 and an ending mean of 2.19. a change was observed in pre and post anxiety levels. This represents a moderate level of anxiety in participants at the start of the contact. On analysis the change between pre-course and post-course was found to be a statistically significant difference with anxiety being lower following intervention (two tailed $p = 0.051$ thus 1 tailed = 0.026). Therefore, the Catalyst programme can be reliably seen as a successful intervention in reducing participant anxiety towards contact with others who are different. The full output tables containing this data can be found in Appendix 5, Table K and L.

Having established that participant pre-contact anxiety exists in the dataset and that the intervention caused a statistically significant positive change in anxiety about meeting others who are different, this means that there could be implications for pre-contact anxiety being a confounding variable. To test this a correlation between pre-course anxiety and SDO change over the course of the intervention was run. Given that that the anxiety dataset does not meet the requirements for parametric testing, and that this is an attempt to establish if a relationship exists within the data rather than to establish causation, a Spearman's Rank Order Correlation was again appropriate.

This did not establish any statistically significant relationship between participant pre-contact anxiety about spending time with people who are different to them and the change in their

prejudice towards others, as measured by SDO, over the course of the intervention (p=0.116). Therefore, we can conclude that, here at least, pre-course anxiety is not a confounding variable in this research.

The Spearman's Rank Order Correlation was also run against the pre-course and post-course SDO datasets to seek to uncover any relationship between these and the pre-course anxiety felt by participants. Again, no statistically significant finding was detected, and it can then be concluded that pre-contact anxiety, though widely regarded as a potential moderator of intergroup contact outcomes, does not play a significant role in this study and is not a confounding variable as it did not have a statistically significant relationship with prejudice change. The full output table for this data can be found in Appendix 5, Table M.

Following this, a correlation between pre-course anxiety and pre-course levels of organisational trust, as measured by OTI, was run. The purpose of this is to discover if pre-contact anxiety has any relationship with pre-course levels of trust in the organisation facilitating the intergroup contact. If pre-contact anxiety were correlated with organisational trust then the data might show false results which suggest that trust makes a difference, but in reality, this could just be picking up the impact of anxiety.

Given that that the anxiety dataset does not meet the requirements for parametric testing, and that this is an attempt to establish if a relationship exists within the data rather than to establish causation, Spearman's Rank Order Correlation was again the appropriate test here. This did not establish any statistically significant relationship between participant pre-contact anxiety about spending time with people who are different to them and levels of pre-course trust in the organisation facilitating intergroup contact (p=0.125). The full output table for this data is in Appendix 5, Table N.

The same test was run to check for any correlation between pre-course OTI and anxiety change as it may be possible that higher levels of organisational trust coming into the intergroup contact scenario would better prepare or "prime" participants for a positive experience. The field of imagined contact finds that this kind of pre-contact priming can have an effect on pre-contact anxiety which, in turn, leads to more optimal contact outcomes (Vezzali et al 2012, Stathi et al 2012) and so it was possible that this may be the case here. Once again though, there was no statistically significant correlation between the two datasets (p=0.220). The full output table for this data is in Appendix 5, Table O.

Spearman's correlation was run twice more to test for any correlation between post-course OTI and anxiety change and also post-course OTI and post-course anxiety. Neither test here saw any statistically significant relationship between the two datasets with post-course OTI

and anxiety change (p=0.131) and also post-course OTI and post-course anxiety (p=0.379) not meeting the required thresholds. The full output table for this data is in Appendix 5, Table P.

These tests, and those preceding them in this section using the participant anxiety data all fail to establish any significant relationship between the participant anxiety outcomes and those of the SDO and OTI scores. In part this may be due to the fact that the case study nature of the research means that participants are voluntarily involved and presumably have some level of interest in engaging with others who are different to themselves. This is not always the case in controlled experiments around participant pre-contact anxiety and so results are likely to be different between this research and experimental studies. The smaller sample size of participants in this dataset may also have impacted upon the statistical significance of the findings drawn from it.

Whilst it would be straightforward to preclude pre-contact anxiety as having any relationship to the SDO and OTI score outcomes in this research, this may not be the correct approach to take. The correlation of SDO change and anxiety relatively close to being significant, and, importantly the literature has found a strong and consistent result here. This is suggestive that the data is close to following an established relationship between intergroup contact outcomes and pre-contact anxiety and thus is reassuring in terms of the validity of the data here. The relationship between pre-contact anxiety and organisational are much further away from statistical significance and as this is not an established relationship in the literature in the same way, this can be precluded as being a confounding variable on this relationship.

With these outcomes in mind, the correlational study between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the contact outcomes (as measured by OTI and SDO) will proceed as planned. The qualitative analysis in Chapter 7 will, however, be mindful of interviewee references to, or direct discussion of, pre-contact anxiety.

6.4.2 Participant demographics, experience and method of recruitment

It is well established in the intergroup contact field that the demographics of participants and the make-up of cohorts involved in contact can have a relationship to the outcome of the contact (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). This can impact on majority and minority groups, though typically in different ways. For example, it is the case that under some circumstances majority outgroup members will see greater prejudice reduction towards minority outgroups than vice versa and this is likely due to the majority group experiencing greater level of comfort and lower levels of identity loss in engaging with the contact (Bettencourt et al.

1992). Conversely, any heavy emphasis on the salience of groups can make the contact experience more uncomfortable for the majority ingroup and raise anxiety to the detriment of contact outcomes (Harwood 2010).

Accordingly, it is important to establish if these participant demographic variables play meaningful role in this research. This will include the method of recruitment of participants, their previous experience of programmes similar to Catalyst and of community leadership. As this involves looking at how multiple independent variables may have affected one dependent variable and, because parametric assumptions were met ANOVA was used. Beginning with an analysis of these against pre-course OTI scores, the ANOVA generated only one statistically significant finding. This was that being involved in previous programmes that were similar to Catalyst had a positive effect on pre-course OTI scores ($p=0.023$). This result means that participants who had prior experience of participation in similar programmes had slightly higher levels of pre-course organisational trust towards Catalyst. The full output table relevant to this data is at Appendix 5, Table Q.

The same ANOVA analysis was run again with post-course OTI data and all of the same demographic and additional variables around recruitment and previous experience. No relationships of statistical significance were found and therefore any change here is not accounted for by known variables.

As the same relationship between participants having been involved in previous programmes that were similar to Catalyst and a positive effect on pre-course OTI scores was not shown, and that this is a small effect which is only relevant to a small number of participants in the cohort, it should not be considered as a confounding variable in the correlational study. Again though, this will inform the data analysis in Chapter 7 in order that the reason for this increased organisational trust be better understood.

The datasets showing OTI by different forms of recruitment and geographic area were mismatched and underpowered in terms of producing statistically reliable findings and so further tests have not been run on them. That a disproportionate number of participants were from London compared to other regions, and that recruitment in London was primarily through schools and/or colleges also led to a disproportionate number of participants in the dataset being recruited to the programme in that way. This does not negatively impact on the ability of the data to address the research aims and hypothesis but may limit the generalisability of findings.

Though the reliability of the data cannot be tested for statistical reliability, it is of potential interest with regards to future investigation that the mean OTI scores for those recruited to

the programme through schools and/or colleges was higher than those recruited via the 'Near Neighbours' programme (school/college sub group n=36, mean=43.97, near neighbours sub group n=5, mean = 42.75). Though not statistically significant, this will be explored further in the qualitative analysis.

The same ANOVA analysis was conducted with the whole SDO dataset (pre-course, post-course and change) against the same variables and, again, no relationships of statistical significance were found. Participant demographics, including gender and religion, and previous relevant experience can therefore be concluded to have no relationship to SDO scores in this research.

Given that there is a statistically significant relationship now established between the SDO-PTD subset and intergroup contact outcomes it was of value to perform extra analysis on this subset of data to explore whether there was any relationship between change in SDO-PTD over the course of the intervention and the demographic variables of participants. Once again this includes the method of recruitment of participants, their previous experience of programmes similar to Catalyst and of community leadership. As this involves looking at how multiple independent variables may have affected one dependent variable (SDO_PTD change) and, because parametric assumptions were met ANOVA was used.

The analysis shows no relationships of statistical significance between the change in SDO-PTD over the course of the intervention and any of the additional variables around recruitment and previous experience. The same analysis was conducted with the whole SDO change set against the same variables and, again, no relationships of statistical significance were found. Where change to participant SDO-PTD score occurs, this change not accounted for by known variables. The full output table for this data can be found in Appendix 5, Table R.

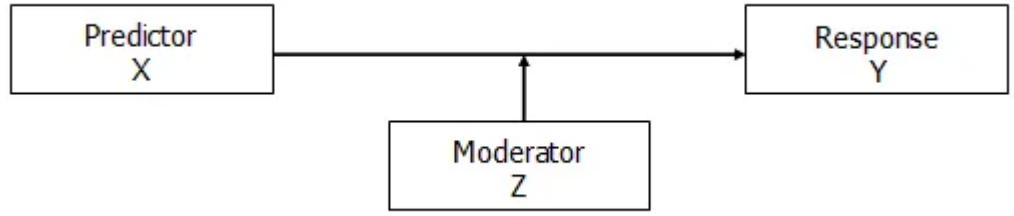
This section demonstrates that there were no clearly identifiable confounding variables in this research which could influence the results of the correlational study below in section 6.5. The study of the relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact is reliable to proceed based on the analysis of paired participant SDO and OTI scores.

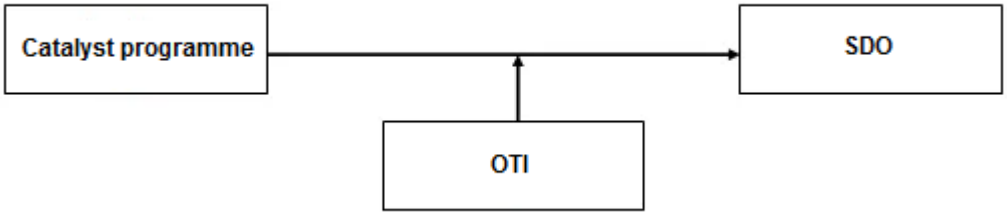
6.5 Organisational Trust and Prejudice

This is the core section of the quantitative research and directly addresses the hypothesis and aims of the study. As other potential moderators of the response have now been accounted for and discounted as being of undue influence on the intervention response, this

section of analysis covers the hypothesis itself in attempting to establish if organisational trust, as measured by OTI, is a moderator of the response to the predictor.

The format of this is a correlational study model as outlined in the Methodology chapter previously. In this study the response here is participant prejudice as measured by SDO. This is detailed in the models below:





Before turning to an assessment of the main question of interest, which is whether trust affects the change in SDO from contract, we first consider a prior question of whether trust is linked to the level SDO. It is important to establish at the outset if there is a correlation between paired participant SDO and OTI scores as this would then suggest that the two are in some way related and allow further exploration of this relationship and the dynamics of it. It may, for instance, be of interest here that participants with higher levels of trust bring different levels of prejudice into the contact than those with lower, and this may give insights into contact avoidance.

As this analysis is searching for a relationship between data which is distributed normally, this therefore meets the standards required for a parametric test a Pearson's correlation is used. When pre-course OTI scores and pre-course SDO scores are analysed together in this way Pearson's correlation gives a result of -0.391 (a weak to moderate relationship). As a negative correlation is observed this means that lower OTI scores are associated with higher SDO scores and therefore the interpretation here is that those who trust the organisation facilitating the contact the least are those who come into the contact with the higher levels of prejudice. This is a statistically significant finding (1 tailed p=0.004) and a

correlation exists between the two. This represents a high probability level for what is a weak correlation and restricted sample size.

Using the same methods of analysis on post-course OTI scores and post-course SDO scores Pearson's correlation gives a result of -0.643 (a moderate to strong relationship) and, again, a negative correlation is observed. Here lower post-course OTI scores are associated with higher post-course SDO. This is found to be statistically significant (1 tailed $p<0.001$) and a much stronger correlation than that seen between pre course scores. This relationship suggests that those participants with the highest levels of organisational trust at the end of the contact are those who also tend to have the lowest levels of prejudice towards others. The full output table related to this data is in Appendix 5, Table S.

That analysis of participant paired scores in both pre-course SDO and OTI and in post-course SDO and OTI shows the same statistically significant, negatively correlated result strongly supports the supposition that there is a relationship between SDO and OTI scores and thus that organisational trust is a moderator of intergroup contact outcomes.

Central to testing the hypothesis is determining the relationship between participant pre-course OTI scores and SDO change. Here, for the hypothesis to be supported, there should be a positive relationship between the pre-course OTI score and the change seen in SDO score as a result of the intervention. As the analysis is investigating the possible existence of a relationship between the two and the assumptions for parametric tests are met a Pearson's correlation is used. Here the Pearson's correlation shows a result of 0.02. This does not indicate any correlation and the results are not statistically significant ($p=0.447$) in any meaningful way. This means that participant levels of trust in the organisation at the start of the contact are not related to the prejudice reduction that they undergo through their involvement in it. The full output table containing this data is in Appendix 5, Table T.

Running the same analysis with SDO change and post-course OTI brings up a result that is quite different to the results seen with pre-course OTI and which demonstrates that there is a statistically significant relationship between the level of trust that participants hold in the organisation facilitating contact and the level of change in prejudice experience by participants as a result of the intervention. Here the Pearson's correlation result of -0.465 is indicative of a weak/moderate correlation which is statistically significant ($p<0.01$). This means that higher OTI post course scores were associated with larger reductions in SDO scores.

It is important to note that this correlation refers to change in SDO that is both positive and negative. So, the more trust that participants have in the organisation the end of the

intervention, the more likely they will receive positive benefit from the course (in this case a decreased SDO score) and vice versa. This is an important finding and one which supports the hypothesis that there is some relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact. The full output table containing this data is in Appendix 5, Table U.

As the data so far has shown that there is a statistically significant relationship between the SDO-PTD subset and intergroup contact outcomes it is of value to explore whether there was any relationship between change in SDO-PTD over the course of the intervention and paired participant OTI scores.

The logical place to start this analysis is by looking at whether post-course OTI has any relationship to SDO PTD change. This is because it has already been demonstrated that SDO PTD has changed in a statistically significant manner and so this analysis is looking for correlation between post OTI scores and observed changes on SDO PTD. A change of -0.3 observed in matched pairs and Pearson's correlation of -0.528 which is statistically significant (1 tailed $p<0.001$) and a moderate effect size. This result is highly statistically significant. To some extent this analysis was expected to be more powerful given the analysis of the importance of the SDO-PTD subset as detailed in section 6.3.1.

This means that the higher the post-course trust in the organisation facilitating contact, as measured by OTI, the more positive change (prejudice reduction as measured by SDO PTD) is seen. It is also observed that the lower the post-course OTI the more negative contact takes place. This is a highly important finding as it suggests that poor trust building and/or maintenance during an intervention can directly lead to increased prejudice in participants. This is one of the main findings of this research.

It is also important to note that, whist both statistically significant, the relationship between post-course OTI and SDO_PTD is stronger than that of post-course OTI and SDO. This is a repeated and consistent pattern highlighting the importance of the SDO PTD subset in this study. The analysis found that the SDO-PTD subset was better suited to this investigation as in the aggregate it showed an impact of contact on SDO, suggesting greater scope to see how this varied with respect to trust. It is notable that this arguably higher quality and more well-suited data not only confirmed the same results but did so even more strongly and with a greater level of statistical significance. This is highly supportive of the hypothesis that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact are related. The full output table related to this can be found at Appendix 5, Table V.

The same analysis was run with the OTI pre course data and SDO PTD change to determine if any relationship between participant trust at the beginning of the contact in the organisation facilitating and this important subset of SDO exists. No pattern was observed and the Pearson's correlation of 0.197 shows no significant correlation between the two. This suggests that it is trust in the facilitating body after the intervention, not before, which is significant. This was not what was anticipated in the hypothesis but is an important finding which lays the groundwork for further investigation and analysis in Chapter 7. This output table can be found in full at Appendix 5, Table W.

The correlational study in this section directly addresses the hypothesis and supports the hypothesis that there is a relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact. A strength of this analysis, and the approach taken, is that the SDO and OTI dimensions and subsets have been thoroughly explored, and that this has produced some unexpected but significant and relevant outcomes. The data has been presented in full, and this inductive and open approach contributed interesting, new and unexpected insight into this field. This avoided the trap of confirmation bias and allowed for an objective reporting of the relationships as they emerged in the correlational study, without deviation from the previously determined methodology in an attempt to produce results which more strongly supported the hypothesis and corroborated what had been expected from the review of established literature.

The central findings with regards to the hypothesis that there is a relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact are:

- That there is a statistically significant negative correlation observed between OTI and SDO at the start of contact. This means that lower OTI scores are associated with higher SDO scores and therefore that those participants who trust the organisation facilitating the contact the least are those who come into the contact with the higher levels of prejudice.
- That there is a statistically significant negative correlation observed between OTI and SDO at the end of contact. This a much stronger correlation than that seen between pre course scores suggests that there is a relationship between SDO and OTI scores and thus that organisational trust is a moderator of intergroup contact outcomes.
- There is no correlation or meaningfully statistically significant relationship between pre-course OTI scores and SDO change. Here, for the hypothesis to be supported, there should be a positive relationship between the pre-course OTI score and the change seen in SDO score as a result of the intervention.

- However, the results show a correlation which is a statistically significant relationship between the level of trust that participants hold in the organisation facilitating contact post-course and the level of change in prejudice experience by participants as a result of the intervention. This means that higher OTI post course scores were associated with larger reductions in SDO scores and is suggestive of something trust related occurring in the contact which improves contact outcomes. This is supportive of the hypothesis.
- Prior analysis in this chapter had highlighted the importance of the SDO-PTD dimension to the contact outcomes in Catalyst. When this was analysed alongside the post-course OTI scores a highly statistically significant correlation was found, and this establishes the relationship between the two with a great degree of confidence. This shows that participant trust in the organisation at the end of contact in this study is very closely related to the overt and *"old fashioned"* (Ho et al. 2012) prejudice which is seen in this subset. This is supportive of the hypothesis.
- Whilst the previous findings show that organisational trust can be beneficial to contact outcomes, it was also seen that the lower the post-course OTI was the more negative contact was likely to take place. This is a highly important finding as it suggests that poor trust building and/or maintenance during an intervention can directly lead to increased prejudice in participants. Again, this supports the hypothesis that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact are related but also shows that this is not a one-way relationship. The relationship can positively and negatively impact on contact outcomes.

These outcomes and the implications of them will be discussed in detail in the Discussion section of this chapter and will be used to shape the qualitative analysis structure and coding in Chapter 7.

6.6 Discussion

The data presented and subsequent analysis has established with, strong statistical significance and confidence, that there is a relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact. This supports the original hypothesis of the work and makes a clear contribution to knowledge in the field of intergroup contact study. Establishing this relationship was a gap in the literature which has now been addressed and, in part, filled. This realizes the call from Stephan & Stephan that *"more and better research is needed on the effectiveness of intergroup relations programmes in order to refine and improve them"* (2005: 443).

The reason that this gap is only in part filled is because, firstly, a single study is far from conclusive and, secondly, because the quantitative outcomes presented and analysed in this chapter throw up a number of important questions about how this relationship may work. That we do now know that the fields of organisational trust and intergroup contact are related is important as it opens a new area of research. However, the relationship is not as straightforward as the research hypothesis supposed or as the literature suggested.

This discussion section will interpret and describe the significance of the findings of the quantitative data with regards to the relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact. It will also explain any new understandings or fresh insights into the relationship.

The key focuses of this section are:

- 6.6.1 The relationship between participant trust and contact outcomes
- 6.6.2 Catalyst contact outcomes
- 6.6.3 Contact anxiety
- 6.6.4 Appraising the correlational approach taken

Finally, this discussion will highlight areas which need further explanation and depth which are then to be analysed and discussed at much greater length in Chapter 7. The more nuanced data analysis in Chapter 7 addresses in greater detail as to why and how the relationship exists, why and how it works and why it does not work in the way that the literature had suggested that it might. This is a benefit of the complementary nature of the mixed methods approach and the ability to use qualitative data to add depth and understanding to the quantitative findings.

6.6.1 The relationship between participant trust and contact outcomes

The data and analysis in this chapter is strongly suggestive that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact does have an effect on the outcomes of the contact and, thus, the hypothesis is supported.

There are caveats to this though in that the relationship between the two variables does not function as may have been anticipated from the literature, and nor is the relationship without nuance. This section will give more detail as to the relationship which is emergent from the data and discuss areas of interest and those which require further study in the qualitative data.

Firstly, the relationship is clear that the greater the level of participant trust in the supporting organisation at the end of the contact, the greater the amount that participant prejudice is reduced by. This is for prejudice as a whole, as measured by the SDO, and not just for any specific dimensions or subsets. The relationship was also shown to be much stronger when looking at the change to the SDO D and PTD dimension and subset alongside post-course participant organisational trust. These subsets cover the more overt and aggressive forms of discrimination and prejudice.

The relationship being shown to be significant post-intervention, but not pre-intervention, is surprising and is not what was expected from the review and analysis of intergroup contact literature and the known moderators of intergroup contact. This literature and research are fixated on the pre-intervention and pre-contact stage with the focus on anxiety (Stephan & Stephan 1985, Vezzali et al 2012), social embarrassment (Rivers 2011) and participant priming (Crisp & Turner 2009). Beyond the attention which is given to the fulfilment of the pre-requisites of optimal intergroup contact and the negative effects of these not being in place (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006), there is little focus on what goes on both during the contact and at personal levels with the participants.

The findings in this research suggest that what happens in the contact between the participant and the organisation, with regards to both building new trust and retaining existing perceptions of trust, are of importance and should be subject to a comparative level of interest and scrutiny as the pre-intervention moderators. It is natural that time spent with an organisation, and new information gleaned about the attributes of the organisation (Mollering, Bachmann & Lee 2004), could change participants' perceptions of the trustworthiness of it (Mayer et al. 1995, Dasgupta 1988).

It is also a reasonable supposition that trust in the organisation is likely to be based on first-hand evidence of positive organisational behaviours which are linked to the contact scenario. As Catalyst was shown to have a medium to large effect on increasing participant trust between pre and post course questionnaires, this indicates that it is something which participants experience or learn about the organisation in between these questionnaires which positively alters their trust perceptions. This could be the behaviours and attributes of the organisation itself or, perhaps more likely, the behaviours and attributes of representatives of the organisation which are then projected onto the wider Catalyst body. Participants on the programme spend their 4 days with various Catalyst representatives and may build positive interpersonal trust relationships with them. This suggested transfer of interpersonal trust from the referring party into trust in the organisation is consistent with the concept of 'facework' (Giddens 1990, Kroeger 2017) and so how trust in the organisation is

built, and who the referent of this trust is are key questions to be answered in the qualitative analysis.

This, through established moderators and pre-requisites of intergroup contact, is likely to be the most obvious route of linkage between organisational trust and contact outcomes. If participants see for themselves that the organisation, or representatives of it, are promoting equal status within the contact and treating them and other participants fairly, then it is logical to assume that perceptions of integrity and benevolence will improve, as may contact outcomes (Mayer et al. 1995). This too will be explored in further detail through the qualitative analysis in Chapter 7.

A familiarity with the organisation supporting the contact, or a known individual recommending or advocating for the programme, may also factor into the trust relationship here and link to contact outcomes. Such a relationship where trust is already placed in an institution and that institution then supports or refers to another, sets up a degree of pre-contact institutionally based trust in the organisation. (Bachman & Inkpen 2011). It was observed that the intervention was slightly more successful with those recruited through their school or college and that these individuals tended to have slightly higher levels of trust in the organisation when entering the contact. This links with the findings of Longshore & Wellisch (1982) that pupils in schools which positively promoted intergroup relations were more active in seeking them out and that those participants in institutions which compel the intergroup contact to take place may experience more positive outcomes (Koschate & Van Dick 2011).

That participant organisational trust towards the organisation supporting the contact existed prior to the contact is interesting too given the limited information and first-hand knowledge of the programme that will have been available to participants about the programme and the organisation. Again, discovering what, or who, this trust is based on may be key to refining and improving practice in the field and, again, may tie back to previous research which has emphasised the importance of institutional support for contact.

These findings might also mean that it is feasible for organisations which are perceived poorly by participants and where there is low organisational trust to run successful intergroup contact sessions, so long as they are capable of earning trust during the contact process. Here there needs to be a firm degree of caution in drawing conclusions though as there were no participants with low organisational trust at the pre-contact stage in the quantitative cohort. As such there is no evidence as to the relationship between moving from a low trust state to a higher one and subsequent intergroup contact outcomes.

The lack of low trust individuals in the quantitative cohort is a limitation of the data and may possibly link to outcomes around pre-contact anxiety and avoidance. We have no way of knowing from the data in this study whether participants who have low trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact avoid contact scenarios as a result of this, or if they enter them with heightened states of anxiety. The data observed a negative correlation between pre-course trust and pre-course prejudice and this means that those participants who trust the organisation facilitating the contact the least are those who come into the contact with the higher levels of prejudice. In turn, this would suggest that low trust individuals, should they choose to enter into the contact scenario, could bring higher levels of prejudice into it.

This is an important area of study given the prevalence of support for pre-contact anxiety being a moderator of contact outcomes and the apparent link to pre-contact organisational trust. As such, this will be an area of focus in the qualitative analysis.

6.6.2 Catalyst contact outcomes

The aim of an intergroup contact intervention is to reduce prejudice between participants (Allport, 1954, Pettigrew & Tropp 2006) and this is the sole focus of the research in terms of studying the outcomes of the intergroup contact. This is clearly stated in the Literature Review but is a key point that is re-emphasised for clarity.

Intergroup contact interventions are optimal, in that they are most effective at reducing participant prejudice, when all of the 5 pre-conditions of intergroup contact are fulfilled. The less of the pre-conditions which are fulfilled, the less effective the contact will be (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). The Catalyst programme aims to fulfil all of the pre-requisites of optimal intergroup contact and this was demonstrated in Table 4.2 in Chapter 4. Fulfilment of these criteria is one of the of reasons behind the selection of Catalyst as a case study programme for this research and so the attainment these ambitions must be checked. It is essential for the external validity of the research and the generalisability of the findings for all the pre-requisites of intergroup contact to be fulfilled. This is not something which could be assessed via the quantitative data, and so will be studied in-depth in the qualitative analysis.

It is, however, clear from the data that there were no known confounding variables which distorted the relationship between participant organisational trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact. Participant age, gender, religion, region of residence, prior relevant experience and pre-contact anxiety were all checked and showed no distorting effects on the relationship between SDO and OTI in this study. This ensured the statistical validity of the findings.

Catalyst as an intergroup contact intervention was broadly successful in reducing participant prejudice, but there was no clear and significant evidence that prejudice was reduced across the whole SDO spectrum. The data saw a change in participant mean SDO scores from 29.58 to 28.09, but this was short of being a statistically significant effect for the whole of the SDO spectrum. However, where analysis was run on programme outcomes related to the SDO-D and PTD dimension and subset, the data here was much stronger and highly statistically significant relationships were found

The SDO scale, as a whole, is a measure for the individual expression of preference towards unequal relationships between different groups (Pratto et al. 1994) and is, in the SDO-7 form, split into two different dimensions, with each of these having a further subset within them. These are detailed in section 5.5.2, but especially pertinent here is that the SDO-D and PTD dimensions and subsets show the strongest outcomes and relationships in the quantitative data in this study.

This does not mean that the types of overt and *"old fashioned"* (Ho et al, 2012) racism and prejudice which the SDO-D and PTD scales measure are definitely related to participant trust in the organisation supporting contact and the SDO-E dimension and the subsets belonging to it are not. The SDO in this research measures the prejudice related outcomes of the Catalyst programme as one variable and the organisational trust outcomes, via OTI, as another. It could be the case that there is a direct link because the aggressive and obvious prejudice of the SDO-D dimension and organisational trust, but it could also be that this dimension is the facet of prejudice which Catalyst aims to address, and therefore is most impactful in. It may also be that the rejection of the obvious, and often offensive, prejudice covered by SDO-D produced a socially desirable response from participants whilst the subtler SDO-E dimension did not.

As with aiming to determine who or what the participant referent of organisational trust is, the qualitative analysis must also identify what the pre-existing prejudices of participants were and what the attitudinal and behavioural changes which the intervention bought about were.

Lastly, as previously discussed, an important outcome to be aware of was that negative contact occurred. A negative intergroup contact outcome is one which results in the prejudice of the participant towards another outgroup, or outgroups, increasing and is the opposite of the desired effect (Graf, Paolini, & Rubin 2014).

Negative contact was documented in this research and partly accounts for why, despite a reduction in mean SDO scores in the pre-course and post-course questionnaires, prejudice reduction across the programme was not statistically significant. The data in section 6.5

shows that the lower the post-course OTI the more negative contact takes place. This means that the less a participant trusts the organisation at the end of the contact, the more likely it is that the contact doesn't work as hoped and makes them more prejudiced towards others. It could be the case here that poor trust building and/or maintenance during an intervention is related to increased prejudice in participants. So, this finding, whilst providing some emphasis of the importance of the relationship between organisational trust and intergroup contact outcomes, also highlights the dangers inherent in this dynamic.

6.6.3 Contact anxiety

A somewhat surprising finding is that participant pre-contact anxiety presented itself as neither a moderator of the contact outcomes of the Catalyst programme, nor as a confounding variable in this research. This is not what may have been expected from the existing literature in the intergroup contact and trust fields, and nor from the Literature Review in Chapter 2. This therefore warrants further discussion and exploration.

The sample size of paired participants who completed the anxiety related questions in the pre-course and post-course questionnaires was smaller than that of the SDO and OTI datasets, and this could have been a factor to explain why pre-contact anxiety had no significant relationship to the outcomes of the contact or to participant organisational trust. This appears to be unlikely to be the case as, similar to there being no low trust participants in the cohort, there were also no highly anxious participants in the cohort. As such the extremes of the moderator of contact outcomes appear to just not been present in this case study.

It is very possible that in this case there was little participant anxiety about being in contact with others who are different to themselves because of the conditions under which the research was conducted. The majority of intergroup contact research, and indeed most social psychological research, is conducted in controlled experimental conditions (Bryman & Bell 2007: 171) and not always with participants who wish to engage with others. Students are the most common cohort in such studies (West et al. 1992). Catalyst participants, however, are generally aware of the programme aims and ethos and are always participating in it of their own volition. This could mean that they are less averse than participants in typical intergroup contact studies are to being in contact with people who are different to themselves, and as such that pre-contact anxiety really was not a relevant issue to the cohort.

Similarly too, the voluntary nature of Catalyst participation and the time investment required of participants to be involved may simply mean that there is a high degree of contact

avoidance and that those who are anxious about being in contact with others who are different to them do not take part in the programme.

Again, and of strong relevance to the research topic is the recurring link of there being no low trust individuals in the sample, no highly anxious participants in the sample and no statistically significant effects of anxiety on OTI or SDO. This is suggestive of a relationship between pre-contact trust in the organisation and lower participant anxiety whereby participants are not anxious about engaging in contact because they trust the organisation facilitating it. If this were to be the case, then the implications for practice are wide-reaching and impactful. This would potentially be around both which organisations are suitable vehicles for intergroup contact and how the participant perceptions of the organisations facilitating intergroup contact are developed and managed.

Why and how participants trust the organisation prior to the intervention and whether or not there are any qualitative links between this and participant pre-contact anxiety will be a focus of the qualitative analysis in order that a greater understanding of this unexpected, and potentially key, finding be developed.

6.6.4 Appraising the correlational approach taken

This stage in the research process is an appropriate one in which to reflect on the methodological approach taken and to interrogate it for gaps in the research and key areas which have not been adequately covered. This is prior to the qualitative analysis taking place, and so gives scope for addressing these gaps it that phase of the research, but also in considering future areas of interest or where these findings may lead so that the qualitative analysis can take place with these in mind.

The correlational approach has demonstrated, through addressing the hypothesis and answering the research aims, that it was fit for purpose and an appropriate methodology for an explorative study. We now know, with an academically acceptable degree of certainty, that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact are related. These variables are interdependent and effect each other, but we do not know if they are causal in this relationship.

A regression study would not have been appropriate for establishing the existence of the relationship but, now that this relationship is known to exist, such a further study could potentially deepen the knowledge of how the relationship functions and whether there is any predictive power to it. An extension of this research piece could be a regression study seeking to explore how observed relationships can be used to predict future outcomes of

group participants based on intake scores. This may provide scope for purposeful sampling of group attendees for example and this could include the targeting of those participants where positive outcome is likely or being upstream of where extra interventions may be required for some participants. This future area of study is re-visited in 8.4.

Overall, the correlational approach has been both appropriate and successful in addressing the hypothesis and laying the groundwork for further study into the relationship which it has shone light onto.

6.6.5 Building on this data in the qualitative study

The data analysis and discussion in this chapter has determined that the research has contributed to knowledge and that it has begun to address a gap in the existing literature. We have now established that there is a relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact. This is statistically significant and has been repeated in several different analyses in this chapter and this is suggestive that it is not a one-off occurrence.

It is, however, too soon to jump to field-changing conclusions. We now know that there is a relationship, but we do not know why or how it works. If we do not know this then we cannot hypothesise as to how it can be managed, improved and optimised. This is especially important given the scope for negative contact to take place.

What the correlational study and quantitative approach does not tell us is why the findings shown and discussed in this chapter have occurred. Understanding this is particularly important with those outcomes which are different to what may have been expected based on existing literature and research. The mixed methodological approach allowed for the use of the qualitative data to interrogate these findings and address the gaps in the knowledge that they have produced, particularly those which were unexpected. In adding depth here, the research makes a further contribution to knowledge and sets up areas of future interest and study.

The results and analysis in this chapter raised several areas of question which was asked of the qualitative data and then addressed in the analysis and discussion. Firstly, the extent to which all of the pre-requisites of intergroup contact are fulfilled by the Catalyst programme needs to be confirmed to give greater validity and generalisability to the findings. If a pre-requisite is missing or not fulfilled, then this limits the findings and may mean that they can only be generalised to other intergroup contact interventions which have the same contact criterion unfulfilled too. How each of the pre-requisites are linked to organisational trust

outcomes needs to be explored to increase understanding around how they interact and overlap and how trust in the organisation can underpin them being successfully fulfilled.

Secondly, that so much of the prejudice reduction in the intervention was driven by the SDO-D dimension and the PTD subset of this is a finding which needs further explanation and inspection. Prejudice reduction is the desired outcome of the intergroup contact and so it is crucial to develop a greater understanding of participant prejudice and attitudinal and behavioural change which takes place as a result of the intervention. This may be able to suggest why one dimension of prejudice was more effected by the intervention than the other and could give an appreciation as why it was the case in this study.

With regards to the trust dimension of the research, it has been determined with good statistical reliability and validity that participants trust the programme before the intervention begins and that this level of trust grows by the end of the intervention. This level of trust, and the change in it, is correlated to intergroup contact outcomes. What is not clear though is who or what the referent of this trust in the organisation is. The quantitative data does not, and was not designed to, pick up whether participants are placing their trust in Catalyst and/or CUF, representatives of the programme or other individuals. Determining who or what the referents of organisational trust in an intergroup contact intervention are is important in understanding how and why this process works and could inform both future research and have implications for practitioners.

Next it must also be further understood what it is that happens in the contact, or prior to it, which causes participants to trust the organisation. The data and analysis in the chapter shows that trust in the programme is built fairly evenly across each of the ABI organisational attributes of trust (Mayer et al. 1995). It may also be the case that something which is not covered by Mayer's attributes is happening which builds participant trust and an inductive coding approach should pick this up if it is recurrent. Determining why participants trust an organisation facilitating an intergroup contact intervention, and which attributes are more and less important, will, again, shed further light on how organisational trust in intergroup works.

Finally, that there were no low trust individuals in the pre-contact dataset, despite the data being normally distributed, is worthy of further inspection as this suggests either that the programme does something to build trust before the programme begins or that participants who do not trust the organisation may avoid contact. It is also of consequence to explore as to whether this level of participant pre-contact trust may be related as to why pre-contact anxiety did not have a significant impact on intergroup contact outcomes in this study. As pre-contact anxiety is a known moderator of intergroup contact outcomes, understanding

why pre-contact anxiety did not feature here, and whether organisational trust may mitigate for this may be of importance.

Additionally, the inductive coding process picked up and highlighted other relevant recurrent thematic areas of interest which are discussed in Chapter 7 and in the final conclusion in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7: Qualitative Analysis and Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyse the qualitative data drawn from 11 in-depth interviews conducted with previous Catalyst participants and will evidence that Catalyst is an effective intergroup contact programme that builds organisational trust in participants. The use of qualitative data is to complement the quantitative data by adding depth, nuance, and context to the findings. The quantitative analysis of the pre-course and post-course questionnaires in Chapter 6 has established where relationships do exist between participant trust in the organisation facilitating intergroup contact and the contact outcomes and where greater clarity is needed to understand how these relationships function.

It is now clear that participant trust in the organisation does have a relationship with the contact outcomes, though this relationship is more nuanced and not as straightforward as the literature and hypotheses may have suggested. This research makes a contribution to the field by examining and detailing how this trust has an effect on the intergroup contact outcomes and detailing what the relationship is between contact outcomes, and trust in the programme.

The analysis of the qualitative data in this chapter will proceed thematically based on both the results of the quantitative analysis and outcomes which were hypothesised at the research design stage. These are outlined in detail in section 7.3 and qualitative analysis and discussion of these will give greater understanding as to how and why these relationships do or not occur. This allows for more detailed and firmer findings to be drawn and will inform and shape Chapter 8 which covers the conclusion of the research and recommended areas of future study and interest.

7.2 Data Descriptor

Between August and October 2018, a total of 11 in depth interviews were conducted with previous participants of the Catalyst programme. These interviews were designed to complement the data collected in the online questionnaires and to give more detailed responses and a greater depth of insight. This is a standard approach in the social sciences and one which can be used to test existing hypotheses and to generate new findings, often led by the participant and not the researcher (Bryman & Bell, 2007).

Semi-structured interviews were used and the interviews were, where possible, conducted in person. This allowed the interviewer to build rapport with the respondent and has been found to be vital in good data collection when working young people (Bryman & Bell 2007).

As per the methodology, an interview guide was agreed between CTPSR and CUF. This ensured that outcomes for both parties were covered by the interviews and that interviewees were safeguarded to Church of England standards. More detail of this can be found in Chapter 5. From a research standpoint, this also ensured that data was collected in a standardised and comparable way. This is a principle that underpins good academic research (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2016). This interview guide is attached as Appendix 2.

Interviews were conducted using this interview guide to give structure and, as far as possible in the scope of managing a conversation and attempting to generate detailed answers, a standardised format. The median length of the interviews as 61 minutes and the mean 59 minutes.

All previous participants whom agreed to take part were, by nature of this, individuals who have maintained some degree of contact or relationship with either the Catalyst programme itself or 'Near Neighbours'. Using convenience samples is a standard approach to take in social psychological research (Howitt & Cramer 2008: 55) and was used here as it gave access to the pool of previous participants. There is a chance here of participant bias being introduced as though who have maintained contact with the programme are likely to be those who had a positive experience of it. However, an alternative would be a "cold calling" approach to previous participants which would likely have not generated the in-depth level of responses required of the research.

The previous participants involved in the in-depth interviews were broadly representative of the programme's intake and covered a wide spectrum of demographic backgrounds. 4 interviewees were male and 7 female with 3 coming from White or White British backgrounds, 3 Black or Black British, 3 Asian or Asian British, 1 Mixed Race and 1 of another ethnic background. 5 identified as Muslim, 4 Christian and 2 were of no faith background. There was also a good spread in terms of the year in which the interviewees had taken part in the programme with 1 having done so in 2012, 2 in 2015, 2 in 2016, 4 in 2017 and 2 in 2018. Those from the earlier, in particular, give good scope for capturing more longitudinal data.

Interviewees were drawn from several different recruitment sources ranging from referrals from friends or family to direct recruitment by 'Near Neighbours' Co-ordinators. Several were also recruited through schools with one being a CUF intern at the time of his recruitment. Most respondents had not heard of CUF, 'Near Neighbours' or Catalyst prior to their recruitment, though most had some form of involvement in social action through the community, voluntary or faith sectors. Several had been involved in the Duke of Edinburgh

Award programmes and the National Citizen Service prior to Catalyst. Again, this is typical of the programme intake and is aligned to the cohort in the quantitative analysis.

That the backgrounds of the interviewees are broadly representative of the programme as a whole is a point of interest and not one of methodological consideration. Interviews with a small sample size, such as these, cannot be representative of a large programme and nor should they be considered to be in any statistically relevant sense. The aim of these interviews is to add depth to findings and not to produce statistically valid findings.

Post-programme some interviewees have gone onto work in the community, voluntary and faith sectors with one being an outreach worker, two being interns at major faith-based charities and one working in Communications in the faith sector. This is possibly suggestive that those involved in the interviews are not fully representative of the impact of the programme as this is a very high level of continued involvement in the sector that the programme, feasibly, cannot have with all participants and may place constraints on broader interpretations of findings.

Motivation for taking part in the programme varied widely across the interviewees with there being a split between those who were attracted to the course in terms of professional development and the acquisition of skills or experience that would make them more attractive to potential employers and those who wanted to contribute to their local communities. One respondent with previous experience of formal volunteering saw the course as an opportunity to *"open eyes to wider society"* and placed great value on the diversity of their cohort and the focus on learning about other faiths.

There was very little mention of the fact that the programme is run by a Christian charity as being a factor which attracted interviewees to it. Non-Christian interviewees, importantly, did not report any apprehension around this either. That 'Near Neighbours' and Catalyst are true multifaith programmes is evident from the demographic details of previous participants and it is not a negative for CUF that their role as a faith-based charity was not seen as a factor in recruitment here. As this perception of the programme may link to levels of pre-contact anxiety, it will be subject to more detailed analysis later in the chapter.

Interviews were transcribed, as per the agreed methodology (section 5.4.3), verbatim and then coded using a hybrid approach of inductive and deductive methods of interrogating the data. The deductive approach allows for the testing of an existing theory, and this is that participant trust in the organisation facilitating intergroup contact has some effect on the outcomes of the contact. The inductive approach allows for the observation of broader, and potentially unexpected, findings and generalisations. Taken together, these approaches

build on the quantitative findings in Chapter 6 which suggest that there is some relationship between participant trust in the organisation facilitating intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact. Through this the research seeks to uncover how this relationship may work and be better understood.

The data was coded thematically based on a combination of the literature review and the outcomes of the quantitative data analysis in Chapter 6. Additionally, using the interpretive hybrid coding approach, new codes were added organically when they become recurrent and emergent, whilst expected areas of interest in the coding were discarded or merged if they were underpowered or not prevalent enough to warrant a standalone code.

7.3 Data analysis and discussion

The coding of the data saw items manually coded and sorted into broader thematic areas. Following this approach, the main areas of analysis and discussion are:

- The Catalyst programme as an intergroup contact intervention
- Participant prejudice and intergroup contact outcomes
- Participant trust in the organisation supporting contact
- Pre contact organisational trust
- Participant referent of organisational trust

The intergroup contact outcomes of the Catalyst programme are included here, though they are not as relevant to the hypothesis and aims as the other thematic areas. This research is not studying the effectiveness of the programme as an intergroup contact intervention. However, the outcomes of the programme are analysed so as to give external validity to the other findings of the research and to see if doing so draws out any other areas of relevant interest.

Discussion of these themes and findings will be drawn together with relevant literature and presented in an integrated format. This allows for a more coherent linking of research data and relevant literature and for findings to be explored in detail together with the existing research which underpins or challenges them.

7.3.1 The Catalyst Programme as an intergroup contact intervention

This research is designed and framed as being an intergroup contact study which explores the relationship that participant trust in the organisation supporting the contact has on the outcomes of the contact. This is made clear in Chapter 3 and Catalyst was chosen as an intergroup contact intervention case study because it aims to fulfil the prerequisites of

intergroup contact as laid out by Allport and, later, Cook (Pettigrew 1971). These pre-conditions are that:

- Those engaged in the contact have equal status in it.
- Those engaged in the contact have common goals.
- There is cooperation between the two groups involved in the contact.
- The contact has the support of institutions, authorities, laws and/or custom.
- There is scope for acquaintance potential.

The coding of the participant interviews is based on these pre-requisites for contact as meta-analysis of intergroup contact studies has shown that the more of the conditions which are fulfilled, the more impactful the intervention is with regards to prejudice reduction (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). Therefore, ensuring, as much as is possible, that the conditions are fulfilled gives validity to the research and makes certain that an unfulfilled precondition of intergroup contact is not a confounding variable. Though the aims and structure of the programme are consistent with the optimal conditions for intergroup contact (as per Table 4.2) this analysis acts as a confirmation of these being fulfilled and means that all findings are, again as much as is possible, attributable to the desired and measured moderators- in this case participant trust in the organisation facilitating the contact.

This analysis also draws out key themes and areas of interest as to how the relationship between trust and contact outcomes works and how the different prerequisites of optimal intergroup contact are linked into this relationship. Not only does this demonstrate that the Catalyst programme is an appropriate intergroup contact programme to research, but it also gives insight into how the relationship between intergroup contact, organisational trust and outcomes may operate. Understanding how these relationships work is key to developing a deeper understanding of the processes involved and so sets up much of the rest of this analysis and chapter.

<u>The contact has the support of institutions, authorities, laws and/or custom.</u>

Though the contact being supported by an institution, authority, laws and/or customs was listed as the third of the five pre-requisites by Pettigrew (1973), it is discussed here first as it is central to the conceptualisation and findings of this research. This is because this support for the contact enables the other pre-conditions for optimal contact to be put in place and upheld. Indeed, this support was deemed to give the institutional support for intergroup contact an extra importance or *"special role"* (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006:761) and was the only of the 5 pre-conditions which was present in all intergroup contact studies in Pettigrew & Tropp's meta-analysis (2006).

The concept of a safe space or area in which the contact occurs and that this is perceived as being beneficial is a recurrent theme for interviewees. The safe space was never explicitly detailed by interviewees but the facets of it which made it an appropriate and comfortable space for the open and honest exchange of ideas and thoughts overlap strongly with those which the Council of Europe lay out as conditions for intercultural dialogue. These include that human rights, democracy and the rule of law must be upheld, that there must be equal dignity and mutual respect between those involved (Council of Europe 2008: 19-21).

This reinforces the role that the organisation facilitating contact plays and, again, draws a strong distinction between intergroup contact and situational, or everyday incidental, contact. For this *"safe"* space to be created and mutually acknowledged by participants in the contact requires a body supporting the contact and both creating and upholding the behavioural norms of the contact.

> *"In a way we had a safe area to discuss things and challenge other people's ideas but in a respectful way, you know, without having any violence or anything in it. You don't always get a platform to do that and I think that is one of the points in Catalyst"*- Interviewee 2

> *"I think being able to be open to that and having a safe space where you can ask questions without it being like, 'Oh, no, why did you ask that'"*- Interviewee 6

> *"I really value what Near Neighbours and Catalyst are doing and, actually, I think more young people, more individuals should be involved in it, just because there are so many barriers in communities that, actually, like, are really simple things that we actually just need a safe space to talk"* Interviewee 10

Here this links closely to trust as it is impossible to create a space in which an individual feels safe to express their own views and opinions, or to make themselves *"vulnerable"* (Rousseau et al. 1998), without there being an implicit trust in the facilitator of that safe space to uphold it as such. There is also a requirement that other participants will honour this once the contact scenario ends. This exposing oneself to the future actions of others is well illustrated in the quote below and is a very clear demonstration as to how trust underpins intergroup contact:

> *"I would never have told anyone anything about me, but I trusted them to keep it to ourselves, and we had a pact that we wouldn't make it leave the room"*- Interviewee 10

A practical demonstration of the ability of the safe space created by the intergroup contact scenario generated by Catalyst is shown below. Here the interviewee is very clear that the environment of the programme allows participants to have conversations on sensitive issues which are not often discussed in general life or situational contact scenarios. That these conversations, though difficult, were able to take place is evidence that the participants were comfortable in engaging in dialogue with one another. The interviewee also recommending the programme to others afterwards strongly suggests that they found the experience enjoyable and/or worthwhile:

> *"Even with the situation around Palestine and Israel it's a sensitive situation for the Muslim community and it is something that I know a group that has difficult conversations around this and I've recommended the programme."*- Interviewee 3

Similarly, this may positively impact on, and mitigate against, the negative effects of participant anxiety during the contact. Participant anxiety in the contact often stems from fear of rejection, discrimination or social embarrassment (Rivers 2011) and can negatively impact on contact outcomes as a result (Plant & Devine 2003). The fear of committing a grievous faux pas and bringing physical, emotional or reputational harm upon oneself are removed if a participant believes that they are in an environment in which they can speak openly and without the judgement of others.

This was directly discussed by several participants as being something which had, in the past, put them off of fully engaging in groups with people from different backgrounds to themselves:

> *"a lot of times if you're in like a crowd or something people feel scared to like do a certain thing because they don't want to be like the odd one in a crowd"*- Interviewee 7

> *"Everything is politically-correct, and I think that has created such a huge, massive, like, fear in people to feel that they can't get to the depth of things, that, actually, there's just, yeah, you know, you can't ask those questions, you can't do this, you can't do that"*- Interviewee 6

The literature around in contact anxiety (Stephan & Stephan 1985) points to social embarrassment as being one of the negative moderators of contact outcomes, and so removing the fear or threat of these may logically improve contact outcomes. The above quote which references 'political correctness' is an allusion to this from the interviewee and ties in closely with Harwood's findings (2010) that majority outgroup members are often the

most fearful of inadvertently committing offence to minority group members. This can create a negative cycle where they struggle to engage well with the contact but are unable to openly express why and are then seen by other participants as acting in a standoffish manner.

The recurring data from interviewees strongly suggests that the support of Catalyst enables the creation of a “safe space” in which participants feel comfortable and able to discuss issues which may be challenging in other fora. This is important as it addresses participant anxiety during the contact, but not before it, and for this pre-contact anxiety to be addressed is rather more challenging. The in-contact trust and belief that the organisation facilitating the contact is providing a safe forum is based on personal experience, but any pre-contact trust in this will need to come to the participant through second-hand means. The quantitative data does show that participants in Catalyst do have moderate to high levels of pre-course trust in the programme and this, and the how this is developed, is detailed in section 7.3.4.

That the intergroup contact has the support of Catalyst via CUF is recognised by many interviewees, and therefore this pre-requisite for optimal contact is fulfilled. That CUF have been funded by the UK Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government to deliver the programme and to feed into the national integration strategy is also a clear sign that the programme has a high-level of institutional support. This, however, is not something which the interviewees discussed and or gave any indication of being aware of.

That those engaged in the contact have equal status in it.

Intergroup contact can fail to produce positive outcomes when the status of participants is unequal (Sherif 1966) or, particularly in the case of highly segregated or unequal societies, where the equal status exists in the intergroup contact scenario but cannot possibly be maintained or respected outside of the contact. Here participants are likely to avoid contact entirely or to feel excluded from full inclusion in the contact (Crisp & Turner 2012). In societies, such as the UK, which are not widely regarded as being highly segregated or unequal, participant trust in the organisation facilitating intergroup can likely influence participant behaviours and involvement in the contact. Those who do not trust that they will be respected or treated fairly in the contact may be more likely to avoid it. That there were no low trust individuals in the quantitative data cohort is suggestive of this being the case and thus those participants who do engage in the contact are then likely to have some positive expectations that they will be treated fairly.

Representatives of the programme and those facilitating it have a crucial role in establishing equal status amongst participants and this has already been shown through their role in

setting up the Catalyst environment as being a *"safe"* forum for discussion. This is particularly important given the context of the programme in bringing diverse young people together as they are likely to have different cultural norms and standards, as well as different social standings and hierarchies.

When discussing intercultural dialogue Evanoff (2005: 421) states that this establishment of equal status among participants can lead to a 'third culture' approach to cultural interactions whereas traditional approaches focus on either outgroup members adapting to their host culture or with them maintaining their own whilst respecting that of the host. These approaches are notably one way on the part of the outgroup member and require negligible input from the host community. Through well managed dialogue (or intergroup contact) a shared, 'third culture' can be developed amongst participants whereby differing cultural norms are explored, critiqued and eventually understood. Individuals who engage in this process and adopt these third culture group norms are then able to step outside their cultural viewpoints and make more objective judgments based on multiple cultural frames of reference. In other words, they develop a 'worldview' (Doron 2002: 3).

The different backgrounds and norms of participants must be recognised when entering into intergroup contact environments, but not allowed to influence or change the norms and standards of it. Where this is not possible, typically in highly segregated societies or conflict zones, it is a valid criticism of intergroup contact theory as not being fit for practice (Crisp & Turner 2012: 131, Walker & Crogan 1998). Catalyst is successful at encouraging participants to assume the norms of the programme and to moderate their typical behaviour accordingly:

> *"I knew this guy that went there, he's from the Pakistani community, I grew up with him but he's different to me. He'd be like, ignorant and stuff like that. But in there, he was funny obviously, but he was more calm and stuff like that, he was actually not ignorant, he cared about what people had to say, and he's like respectful. And I thought oh, I've never seen this side to you. So you never know what this Catalyst programme can bring out of you."*- Interviewee 10

The role that the facilitators play in making the programme one in which participants felt both respected and obliged to respect the rules and norms of the programme is very clear to interviewees:

> *"They made sure everyone got on really well and adapted. The facilitators at the time, they encouraged discussion"*- Interviewee 3

> *"They're just kind of like trying to make sure that everyone was interested and kind of engaged with the thing which must be really hard to teach but like, yeah, just kind of making sure everyone was like putting in something so that it didn't end up being one person from each group just being the leader and just kind of forcing everything down everyone's throats"*- Interviewee 7

Establishing these group norms around equal status for participants is also another step towards building Catalyst as a new common ingroup. This follows the logic of the Common Group Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio 1993, 2000). In this model outgroup participants in the contact are asked to reconceive group boundaries to form a new group identity which they share with other participants to form a new common group. This model functions on the basis that ingroup favouritism in this group, and the newly identified commonalities, will lead to reduced bias and prejudice towards members.

> *"She was like really nice, she was like outgoing, she made an effort to talk to everyone, she was just kind of really open and inclusive"*- Interviewee 7

> *"and she told us a story about her children and stuff like that … and then we just all admired everyone that came in. Because they were so brave to start everything off, and tell us something about them, so they influenced us all to be able to open up. And seeing the way everyone reacted to them, in a nice way, it was like oh they won't be that harsh to me"* Interviewee 10

The facilitator or person running the programme had a great deal of scope for shaping the attitudes and conduct of this new ingroup and the members of it, but they are also instrumental in upholding the rules and norms of contact as set out by CUF. This is a clear linkage to the over-arching role that the support of an organisation has in promoting intergroup contact. The standards of behaviour and conduct expected of participants are made very clear at the start of every session alongside the daily expected learning outcomes and programme schedule. It was known to interviewees that to be a part of the Catalyst ingroup, that these standards were non-negotiable.

Establishing equal status amongst participants in intergroup contact is central to the whole process and the way in which Catalyst is run and structured is mindful of this. The programme content and the values and behaviours of the facilitators ensure that this pre-requisite of optimal intergroup contact is fulfilled.

Those engaged in the contact have common goals & There is cooperation between those involved in the contact.

These two prerequisites for optimal contact are discussed together because of the overlap between them and the fluid ways in which interviewees could be interpreted as referring to one, the other or both. There were many duplicated instances of coding which were equally relevant to both common goals and cooperation. Cooperation during the contact is important as competition for resources is a driver of negative contact and friction between groups (Sherif 1966) whilst working towards a common goal, or set of common goals, is a method of ensuring that competition does not occur.

Catalyst places a heavy emphasis on participants working together and there is a lot of teambuilding and joint working. The final day of the programme is typically one where participants come together in their own groups to plan their own social action or interaction projects. These projects are not set by facilitators but rather by the participants themselves and so any working together here is, by definition, towards a common goal and fostering cooperation.

> *"And CUF1 made us aware through the Catalyst programme, we had to talk about community projects and the changes that we would like to see and CUF1 really put all that into reality."*- Interviewee 3

> *"Yeah I would say that they were very encouraging of us to get together and work on our own projects."*- Interviewee 1

> *"I imagine the same as what I said about Catalyst. Faith and people of different backgrounds working together."*- Interviewee 4

This promotion of cooperative working between participants to develop localised social action projects which are of interest to them also highlights commonalities between the participants and helps with the building of a common group identity (Gaertner & Dovidio 1993, 2000).

Interviewees all entered into the programme, and therefore the contact, with goals of developing themselves either as leaders in their communities or to build their skills, experience and employability, evidences that there is a common goal umbrella under which they all sit. All are involved for the purpose of self-development. Though they have a shared goal here, in as much as they are all aspiring to the same thing for themselves, it is debatable as to whether or not this evidences the existence of a common goal as they are working towards this goal for themselves as individuals.

The interviewees were, though, able to link the goals of the programme and their reason for participating in it to broader societal goals around cohesion and integration and this is a recognition of this shared goal. It is also a commonality amongst participants in that they agree that these are important goals, and thus they have a shared purpose.

> *"Creating more cohesion and equality in society as a whole and creating better and more well-rounded educated young people. I imagine that. In terms of Catalyst, that's what the values are"*- Interviewee 4

> *"I think most people that I've met, both on the programme and after, they are passionate about social change and have kind of jobs that benefit society and training young people and training ideas. So I think they do it because they are passionate about the cause and enjoy working in a job that reflects their values"*- Interviewee 5

> *"Just to create better community cohesion"*- Interviewee 1

The repeated references to cohesion by interviewees both demonstrate that this pre-requisite for optimal intergroup contact is in place, as this is a common goal which participants are working towards, and also firmly sets the programme in the contemporary context as laid out in Chapter 3. Interestingly again though, the interviewees do not follow the chain of institutional support for cohesion and integration back to the source at government level. The referent here is Catalyst and CUF.

It is clear too that, whilst participants do have different motivations for participating in the contact, that they are led through the process in way which ensures that they do cooperate and share common goals. In addition to fulfilling these pre-requisites of optimal intergroup contact, this again underlines the importance of the role of the organisation supporting the contact. The contact could take place in a sub-optimal manner whereby participants are not encouraged to cooperate and share common goals, but Catalyst ensures that this is not the case by planning activities and setting a course curriculum which guides participants towards working together and shared outcomes.

> <u>There is scope for acquaintance potential.</u>

There being scope for relationships to develop, or that acquaintance potential exists, was not one of Allport's original pre-requisites for optimal intergroup contact to occur, but rather was first added by Cook in 1962. This was later verified by Pettigrew (1997). The Decategorization Model of intergroup contact (Brewer & Miller 1984) leans heavily on participants sharing individuating information to reduce prejudice by counteracting negative

stereotypes towards outgroup members. This element of involving the outgroup member as a person rather than a representative of their outgroup is central to nearly all models of contact. In doing this the often tacitly held belief that one's ingroup is superior and/or more human than an outgroup is tackled (Vezzali et al. 2012).

The sharing of individuating information was an area which interviewees instinctively (and without prompting) linked to establishing trust in other individuals. Participants sharing commonalities acting as a lubricant to contact and trust building is not a surprising finding and fits well with the idea that people use pre-judgment rubrics to make fast decisions in interactions with one another (Allport 1954, Fiske 2004). This means that individuals can decide how to interact with others based on their own likes and previous experiences.

> *"I think the only way people can trust each other is if they understand where the other person's coming from. If you're meeting someone for the first time and you don't know them, you know, how can you trust them? I mean, we're always taught never trust a stranger, right"*- Interviewee 6
>
> *"So, I like to know that someone's kind of on the same wavelength as me, but maybe in political terms, maybe in like interests, in terms of like TV or something. But I like to know that there's something in common before I can start"*- Interviewee 9
> *"Forming an opinion or not even so much, maybe a gut instinct, based on very little factual information. Very little empirical information"*- Interviewee 4

The sharing of individuating information and common interests here appears to help with the redrawing of boundaries between outgroups and this ties in with the idea of the humanisation (Vezzali et al. 2012). Through the re-drawing of the boundaries of ingroups and the creation of new, superordinate groups this links to Allport's original premise and the Common Group Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio 1993, 2000). This model is closely related to the Decategorization Model in that the sharing of individuating information leads to the identification of commonalities between participants and takes away focus from the previously existing and entrenched outgroup differences.

Interviewees are able to appreciate that these commonalities between them and other participants exist, but that there are differences between them and outgroup participants. Outgroup salience was a recurrent and important theme that emerged and fits into an analysis of Catalyst as an intergroup contact intervention. The Intergroup Contact Model (Hewstone & Brown 1986) postulates that improved perceptions and reduced prejudice towards a wider outgroup can only take place if the member of that outgroup is identifiable

during the intergroup contact scenario as being from that specific outgroup. This allows the participant to then project their positive association and contact with that individual onto the wider outgroup which the individual belongs to.

> *"the group was diverse to like even start any of that business and, you know, usually it starts from the whites and it just didn't, I think there was like two other white people in there besides me so it was like interesting"*- Interviewee 7

Catalyst promoting salience between outgroups is a strong positive here as it allows the process described in the Intergroup Contact Model to take place and this may be one of the key factors in the intervention being successful in reducing prejudice. Interviewees were aware of their differences to other participants and this was something that was referred to in every interview. Many interviewees also discussed meeting someone of a different background for the first time too. This may add an extra level of impact to the contact as coming into contact with someone from a particular background for the first time can lead to greater reduction in negative stereotyping than with an outgroup member from a background of which the participant is more familiar.

The quote below is an excellent sign of the group salience between participants as the interviewee makes a point of stating that her friend is of a different culture and ethnicity. It is this awareness of difference that allows the positive association with this individual to be projected positively onto her wider outgroup(s).

> *"I'm still friends with a girl and another culture, she's white, my friend NAME, I wouldn't have met her if I wasn't open in Catalyst to make new friends with that white girl there. So me and NAME, we're still friends to this day. She calls me her best friend and everything, and I feel flattered"*- Interviewee 10

Similarly, the quote below illustrates very well that the experience of meeting someone who is different to oneself, and knowing more about them as a person, has altered the perspective of the participant towards the wider outgroup that that individual is identified with.

> *"It gives greater empathy. I think I see debates around headscarves, Boris Johnson kicked up recently and before I'd have had one perspective on it not having met a woman in a headscarf and now I've got a totally different perspective on it.*".- Interviewee 4

This promotion of the salience of participants is finely balanced with the programme also promoting a common group identity. This is emphasised throughout the programme through

discussions around both diversity in society and in the diversity present in the room. Interviews were overtly aware and appreciative of the differences between individuals being something which could be discussed, and experiences shared. In this way Catalyst avoids decategorizing (Brewer & Miller 1984) participants and the assimilationist connotations of asking, or expecting, a minority outgroup member to shed what may be a core part of their identity in order to join a newly-formed or recategorized ingroup (Brown & Hewstone 2005).

A criticism of intergroup contact in which group salience is promoted is that if negative contact outcomes occur, then these will potentially be projected onto whole outgroups and not just the fellow participants in the intergroup contact scenario (Husnu & Crisp 2010). Given that the quantitative analysis in Chapter 6 does show that negative contact did occur in some instances, this was explored in the coding of the qualitative data. There were though no instances of interviewees discussing how negative experiences in the contact situations have led to their increased prejudices against whole outgroups though. Whether this is because negative contact did not occur for the interviewees or because it is not socially desirable for them to express negative feelings that they currently hold towards whole groups in society is unclear. The small sample size of the interviewee cohort and potential bias caused by all interviewees being individuals who have maintained contact with the programme may also be a factor here.

What is clear is that participants have used the programme to develop friendships and relationships with one another that have a depth beyond serving a transactional purpose of working together on a training programme. There is a very real and personal depth to these relationships with previous participants describing the “friends” that they have from the programme and the on-going personal linkages which they have with fellow participants. In some cases, this has been travelling together and in others it has been participants attempting to broker romantic relationships. In all cases though they are evidence that the programme produces acquaintance potential and that this pre-requisite for optimal intergroup contact is fulfilled.

> *“And then I think one of the guys that I met, through I think I’ve got him on Facebook, we got on really well, but I’ve not talked to him in a while. I actually wanted to set him up with my flatmate last year, but she’s got a boyfriend now”*- Interviewee 9

Interviewees typically chose informal methods of remaining in contact with one another, such as via WhatsApp or Messenger groups, over the structured Catalyst alumni programme too and this gives credence to the relationships being interpersonal and not institutionalised.

The fulfilment of this intergroup contact pre-requisite also appears to be strongly linked to the development of trust between participants and so further analysis of this, and the importance of it, takes place when discussing who or what the referent of participant trust in Catalyst is (section 7.3.5).

Fulfilment of the criteria for optimal contact

The analysis in this section confirms that the optimal conditions of intergroup contact are all fulfilled by the Catalyst programme. This means that all findings are attributable to the desired and measured moderators and not missing pre-requisites. Were one or more missing from the programme then it is possible that outcomes could be influenced or skewed by this and that results would only be generalisable and transferable to programmes which have the same pre-requisites fulfilled and missing.

The conclusions drawn from this analysis have also highlighted emergent areas of interest in relation to the research and the relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and intergroup contact outcomes. Most obvious in this is the links to trust in participants and facilitators and a willingness to engage proactively in contact, but possibly of equal importance is that the role of the organisational support appears under-appreciated in wider intergroup contact literature. Though it has been designated a "*special role"* and was the only ever-present pre-condition in a meta-analysis of intergroup contact studies (both Pettigrew & Tropp 2006) this has not led to an abundance of research into organisational support for contact. The analysis in this section re-affirms the special role which it has and strongly suggests that this underpins the successful fulfilment of the other pre-requisites.

Open and honest intergroup contact, as with intercultural dialogue, can only take place in a forum where participants feel comfortable and 'safe' to discuss sensitive and important issues with one another is underpinned by trust in the process and in other participants. It is apparent that intergroup contact cannot take place in positive conditions without this. Where participants do not believe that the rules and norms of contact will be upheld, they may either avoid contact or be anxious about taking part in it and where they cannot trust that other participants will honour the conditions of contact, they will not be able to engage honestly and openly. The repeated idea of interviewees that contact here was positive because it was conducted in a *'safe space'* is an important finding which brings into focus the positive role that organisational trust in the body supporting intergroup contact can have.

7.3.2 Participant prejudice and intergroup contact outcomes

Attitudinal and/or behavioural change taking place in the participants is central to there being some positive and deliberate impact of the intergroup contact intervention. This is because reduced participant prejudice towards outgroups is the desired aim (Allport 1954). Therefore, these prejudice related changes taking place in the attitudes and behaviours of participants as a result of the intervention is evidence of successful intergroup contact.

An initial deductive coding analysis was conducted, and this was based on instances where interviewees describe prejudice related changes in their attitudes or behaviours which they attribute to their involvement in the Catalyst programme. The hybrid coding approach also allowed for the emergence of inductively coded thematic areas which provide much greater insight into how the programme impacts participant prejudice. These are around self-efficacy, cultural worldview and the impact that external bias or influence can have on individuals.

Prejudice

The quantitative data in Chapter 6 shows that participants enter the intervention with a moderate degree of prejudice and that there is some reduction in participant prejudice between the baseline and the endline. This is a shift in mean SDO scores from 29.58 to 28.09 but is short of being a statistically significant effect for the whole of the SDO spectrum (1 tailed $p>0.099$).

SDO is split into two dimensions and these are SDO-D and SDO-E. The former focusses on attitudes related to intergroup dominance and the latter intergroup anti-egalitarianism or opposition to equality. Both of these have pro and con trait subsets. Drilling further down into this data shows the SDO-PTD subset of the SDO scale as being the driver of any change in prejudice in the Catalyst programme, as well as it being the subset that has the strongest relationship with participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact. This means that interviewee references to behaviours or attitudes associated with the SDO-PTD subset are of particular interest here.

With regard to group-based attitudes and beliefs, the SDO-D dimension is the better predictor of support for aggression against and hostility towards disadvantaged or low-status groups. This is what Ho et al. (2012, 2015) describe as being *"old-fashioned"* prejudice, including overt racism and discrimination. Often this manifests itself as the violent or belligerent maintenance of the dominance of advantaged groups over disadvantaged groups. On the other end of the spectrum the SDO-E dimension is the better predictor of an

individual's support for beliefs which justify and re-enforce inequalities. Often this will be focussed on social mobility and cultural differences. A belief in the *"protestant work ethic"* (Weber 1905) is typical of this. Unlike SDO-D which seeks to maintain inequality through overt dominance and/or aggression, inequalities in SDO-E are maintained by subtler means (Ho 2015). SDO-D is direct and confrontation oppression whereas SDO-E is a lower key limiting and restricting access to power and resources.

Coding here began by clarifying the interviewee understanding of prejudice and then sorting these thematically to draw out recurrent examples of both the SDO-D and SDO-E behaviours and attitudes in an attempt to understand why one is a stronger driver than the other. The quantitative data in Chapter 6 shows that the prejudice change which takes place is largely driven by the SDO-D dimension and this analysis may shed light as to why this is.

Interviewees, as may be expected of ex-participants of an intergroup contact programme with a heavy focus on integration and cohesion, were very adept at defining prejudice and identifying the various forms and guises that it can take on. However, many interviewees also made statements and discussed their own prejudices in way that would clearly fall under Ho et al.'s definition of *"old fashioned racism"* (2012). This both demonstrates the existence of prejudice in the cohort and corroborates the prevalence of the SDO-D strand of prejudice.

> *"As a Muslim, we've got this bad perception of Israel and the Jewish community, and the Shia population who are Muslim too"*- Interviewee 3

> *"Yeah I've got my friends, it was very niche, like my friends, it's like gay men, and women. I've got very little time for heterosexual lads"*- Interviewee 9

> *"I'm thinking of, like, segregated white communities in Bradford who other people might see as, you know, not being educated or, you know, only ending up being pregnant or not having some kind of a future"*- Interviewee 6

> *"I was discriminate against normies because I was ignorant that they are people but then I figured out that at least one of them was a person so there's a possibility they all can be people"*- Interviewee 7

This strong use of language to describe outgroups was recurrent and the above are typical examples. That the final quote explicitly refers to the infra-humanization of outgroup members is a sign of very high negative stereotypes towards them (Haslam & Loughnan 2014). These quotes also emphasise both that there was scope for prejudice related attitudinal and/or behavioural change to take place in participants as a result of the

intervention and that the quantitative data around SDO-D being the most important subdomain of SDO in this intervention is likely correct.

These negative stereotypes are also the very type of explicit forms of prejudice that Catalyst confronts and makes clear that a rejection of are central to course participation, and therefore inclusion. It is possible that group norms are being established whereby membership of the Catalyst programme, and identifying oneself with it, must be accompanied by a rejection of the kind of obvious discrimination and prejudice that agreeing with the SDO-D statements would require.

It is of interest that, though interviewees did hold some prejudices against outgroup members in their Catalyst cohort, that there were no complaints in the interviews about the diversity of the course, at least with regards to the more obvious forms of prejudice around religion, ethnicity and sexuality. Instead, a repeated theme from several interviewees was that the age spectrum of those in their cohort was too wide and that they found it hard to socialise with or share things in common with those who were either much older or much younger. This perhaps is further illustration of the importance of acquaintance potential as detailed in section 7.3.1. The quote below is typical of an interviewee describing how this process worked across the programme:

> *"Yes I think that don't look at people and assume that you don't have anything in common. Actually bother speaking to them. Find out more about them, find out what their interests are and you'll be surprised how much you do actually have in common"*- Interviewee 11

The SDO-E dimension not seeming to have any significant relationship to contact outcomes or participant trust in the organisation supporting the contact in the quantitative data was a surprise. All participants on the programme are involved voluntarily and, at face value, the programme espouses equality and positive values that participants will either know in advance or be made aware of at the very beginning of the programme.

There were also very few instances of interviewees discussing attitudes or behaviours in others that could be linked back to the anti-egalitarian indicators seen in SDO-E. Interviewees were, as a whole, supportive of a fair and meritocratic society. This may be social desirability at play and this tends to be greater issue in interviews than anonymous questionnaires or surveys. There were, however, repeated instances of interviewees recalling that being on the programme was the first time that they had ever been told that they are a leader or begun to think of themselves as a leader.

There is potential that the act of being on the programme and the skills, confidence and positive reinforcement that has come with it could have elevated the position which interviewees feel that they hold in society and given them a privilege which they wish to preserve. If this were indeed the case then the intervention would be unwittingly causing an increase in participant prejudices by hardening anti-egalitarian tendencies. This is a thought-provoking idea but there is not enough data or focus on the line of enquiry to draw and firm conclusions either way.

The qualitative data here though add richness and a greater level of understanding to the quantitative findings that the participants in the intervention do hold sufficient levels of prejudice that there is scope for change to be affected. This is also true of the quantitative finding that the main driver of participant prejudice and prejudice reduction in the programme is the *"old fashioned"* (Ho et al. 2012) and overt forms which are seen in the SDO-D dimension of the SDO scale.

Participant Attitudinal and Behavioural Change

Having established in the previous subsection that participants do hold prejudices towards other outgroups at the start of the contact, this section will add further dimensions to the understanding of the prejudice related attitudinal and behavioural change which takes place as a result of the intervention. The purpose of an intergroup contact intervention is to reduce participant prejudice towards an outgroup, or outgroups, and so this serves as a further check on whether or not the intervention is successful in this.

The quantitative analysis shows that there was a small effect on overall participant prejudices as a result of the intervention, but a much larger and more significant effect on more overt types of prejudice. This ensuing analysis will aim to verify this finding as being consistent and to further the understanding as to how the processes at play in the intervention serve to bring about changes in participant prejudice.

The coding here is based on the literature review and focuses on references to the interviewee experiencing positive attitudinal or behavioural changes related to prejudice because of their participation on the Catalyst programme. By virtue of these being outcomes of participation on the programme, these are all post-programme and not related to preconceptions or trust in the organisation. Positive attitudinal and behavioural changes are, however, key outcomes in determining that the intergroup contact has been effective as these are closely linked to reduced prejudice towards others (Turner, Crisp & Lambert 2007, Viki et al 2006). Without capturing that these changes had taken place, we would not be able to demonstrate any effectiveness of the programme as a vehicle for intergroup contact.

Table 7.1 below shows the frequencies of interviewee references to positive attitudinal and behavioural changes in the content analysis.

Table 7.1 Positive Attitudinal and Behavioural Changes by Interviewee

Interviewee	Positive Attitudinal Change	Positive Behavioural Change
1	6	3
2	4	0
3	3	6
4	7	1
5	4	2
6	8	5
7	10	8
8	7	5
9	5	2
10	7	4
11	7	7
TOTAL	**68**	**43**

Positive attitudinal change related to prejudice and/or group behaviour were more common than positive behavioural change related to the same in the coding, but this was, in part, because instances of behavioural change were very commonly linked by the participant to attitudinal change. This did not operate in the opposite direction and instances of attitudinal change were more likely to stand alone and not be related to behavioural change too.

Taken as separate themes which are appraised in a way which are unrelated to one another, these codings are fairly prosaic and descriptive. Here the content analysis and inductive coding approach allowed for themes to become emergent and integrated, rather than single instances which, at first reading, may appear isolated or inconsequential. The emergent themes from the inductive coding approach add depth to the findings and move beyond simply describing which changes happened by providing much insight into how these changes happened and the implications of them. Here there were 3 main thematic areas and these will be addressed individually.

Self-efficacy

Participant self-efficacy in intergroup contact scenarios has been reliably demonstrated to reduce both contact avoidance and pre-contact anxiety (Crisp & Turner 2012: 160-164). This has been a core component of much of the research into imagined contact with the premise that participants can be primed for better contact outcomes by improving pre-contact self-efficacy (Stathi et al 2012 and Vezzali et al 2012). At the root of this for many participants is building confidence and experience in engaging with people who are different to oneself in order that the fear of social embarrassment and the negative connotations of this are overcome (Plant & Devine 2003).

The Catalyst programme is, very plainly, not an imagined contact scenario, but the same premise appears to carry over here with interviewee self-efficacy in meeting and engaging with people who are different to themselves being very significant, and linked, areas of attitudinal and behavioural change. Interviewees are both more confident in meeting with people who are different to them as a result of their experience with Catalyst and as such are either more actively seeking these engagements out or no longer being anxious about them occurring.

The quote below is an archetypal example of this where attitudinal change has led to behavioural changes, both desired and actual and which is underpinned by increased confidence or self-efficacy in engaging with people who are different.

> *"I think I would be a lot more, I talked before about how the group I have is my school friends, I think I would be a lot more ready to start a conversation with a women in a headscarf say than anyone I went to school with. Not because they are bad people but because they wouldn't have had that experience like Catalyst. So I think that will have changed, I'll be more confident talking to people of different groups."*- Interviewee 4

Participant confidence in meeting, engaging and working with others who are different to themselves, and this being attributed to their participation in the intervention is a highly recurrent theme. This manifests itself in seeking out or making oneself open to contact with others:

> *"I think it definitely has added to my confidence. I've never really done a training course like that before. It's something I did off my own back and I didn't really know anyone so I think it definitely boosted my confidence in that way and yeah showed that I could work with people I don't know and had never met before"*- Interviewee 5

"through that just kind of ended up, you know, being more outgoing and just kind of being ready to meet people."- Interviewee 7

"Or if there isn't something you like about them, there is a reason, nothing is without reason, you just have to ask. Like, you want her to ask or actually start a conversation instead of just assuming."- Interviewee 10

Worldview

An emergent theme of coding, which initially sat under the attitudinal area but was large enough to form a standalone subsection was the emergence of a wider cultural worldview (Doron 2002) amongst participants. This links back to the previous discussion around participants in the intergroup contact scenario having equal status within it and how this leads to a greater ability on the part of the participant to step outside their cultural viewpoints and make more objective judgments based on multiple cultural frames of reference.

This ties in with existing literature on intercultural dialogue and recognises that empathy and inclusivity are core to an individual being able to develop shared perspectives with others and to see the world through the eyes of those in different positions to their own (Anderson 2010). For majority group members, this is often a transformative experience in terms of bringing about future attitudinal and behavioural changes. The quotes below are a good demonstration of this and are representative of those from interviewees who discussed their development of an intercultural worldview:

"but if you're a straight white middle class man you've only got one perspective on life and we tend to straight white middle class men dictate the world"- Interviewee 4 (a straight white middle class male)

"And, you know, just little things like that just like being mindful of myself. I feel not enough people do that and kind of think about their thought process and why it happens."- Interviewee 7

"Because maybe the people that tend to judge people that are a little bit different, or like, when they're in school they would judge people that were a little bit different. Who've grown up to be completely normal people, but maybe have grown up in quite a bit of a bubble and aren't really aware of the outside world as much"- Interviewee 9

Here the intervention has successfully bought about a change in the mindset and approach of participants to understanding and working with people who are different to themselves. Crucially too, they have also become aware of their own implicit, and often subconscious,

cultural behaviours and norms, and of how these may be perceived by an outgroup member. This is a successful intercultural dialogue outcome and one which is linked to lower levels of negative stereotyping towards outgroup members (Ganesh & Holmes 2011). The salience between groups in the contact and the fulfilment of intergroup contact preconditions around acquaintance potential underpin this:

> *"So when there's an inter-faith perspective, at least you're forced to think about the other types of people, and that's good."*- Interviewee 9

> *"When you get to know them you see different points of view, or different beliefs, or anything"*- Interviewee 11

The attitudinal and behavioural change that this bought about too was a huge component of the impact of the programme as self-reported by participants. Exploring the intercultural dialogue related outcomes of the intergroup contact intervention is beyond the scope and remit of this research, but there is clear crossover between desired intercultural dialogue and intergroup contact outcomes. Influencing participant attitudes and behaviours around their own prejudices is one of these crossovers and it may be the case that results from this research around the relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of that contact are transferable to the field of intercultural dialogue. This could be considered as an area of potential research interest in the future.

It is likely too given that similar conditions of equal status in intercultural dialogue and intergroup contact exist, that the crossover is very real and that trust in the idea of being equal 'co-participants' (Anderson 2010) makes findings here generalisable to the field of dialogue.

> *"It takes time, obviously, but I think the only way people can trust each other is if they understand where the other person's coming from"*- Interviewee 6

> <u>Challenging narratives and stereotypes</u>

Linked to the participant development of a worldview as described above is that where interviewees became more aware of their own biases, they also became more conscious of the biases of others and the implications of these. This took on two distinct forms.

Firstly, interviewees demonstrated a greater awareness that others also hold their own prejudices and stereotypes and that these can affect how they interact with others. Secondly interviewees showed a greater awareness and cynicism towards the role of the media and

how it, and agendas carried within it, can affect their perceptions of others and other's perceptions of them.

> *"When you talk to a person you realise that stereotypes aren't really fair. I found people who were really camp really annoying because you see Alan Carr on the TV and it seems so over the top and unnecessary. Then you meet people of genders and sexuality that you wouldn't normally meet and they is just normal people"*- Interviewee 4

> *"And I feel that since the programme I've been more acknowledging of what's going on around me locally and nationally. I'm more like glued on to the news or the issues that we're facing politically and encouraging discussions and encouraging difficult conversations with people."*- Interviewee 3

> *"So just in a realistic world would be where people recognise their prejudices, recognise they're wrong, or like, the whole point of prejudice is like they're unfounded, and make the effort to push those out"*- Interviewee 9

In both of these instances, interviewees expressed a greater willingness and perception of their own ability to empathise with or, where appropriate, challenge the narratives of others. This links closely to the findings around increased worldview and self-efficacy.

Conclusion

This section has widened the understanding that participants in the Catalyst programme do hold prejudices at the beginning and end of the intervention, but that the programme does go some way to decreasing or lowering those. It also deepens our knowledge in that the more overt forms of prejudice which are measured in the SDO-D scale are more prevalent in the programme and thus aligns with the findings in Chapter 6.

Importantly too, the data here also shows how the intervention affects attitudinal and behavioural change, and not just that it brings it about. Developing participant worldview, self-efficacy in contact and the ability to identify and challenge negative stereotypes are all linked outcome which are indicators of successful intergroup contact.

7.3.3 Participant trust in the organisation supporting contact

The quantitative data in Chapter 6 is robust in showing that the Catalyst programme built participant trust over the course of the intervention. The mean OTI score of participants increased from 44 at the start of the intervention to 49 at the end and this was a statistically significant outcome with a medium to large effect ($p<0.001$ and Cohens -.712). This is

important as it demonstrates that something happened during the intervention which built participant trust in the organisation. The aim of this section is to develop a greater understanding of what factors influence participant trust perceptions of Catalyst during the intervention.

The quantitative data is clear that something takes place during the contact which builds participant trust to the organisation, and that this greater level of trust is present at the end of the contact. This could be related to more optimal contact outcomes and means that understanding more about this relationship and how it functions is central to the whole thesis. This relationship between participant trust in the organisation facilitating the intergroup contact, as measured by OTI, is much stronger when looking at the contact outcomes and trust after the contact than looking at the contact outcomes and trust before the contact. This is of significant interest too as intergroup contact literature tends to focus heavily on pre-contact emotions and perceptions, and so this may be a gap in the field and is one which warrants a greater level of inspection and study here.

Also, of interest is that there were no low trust individuals in the quantitative data sample collected and analysed in Chapter 6. This is suggestive of two things, both of which are worthy of a greater depth of understanding. The first is that only individuals who have a degree of trust in the programme or organisation go onto engage with it. This could imply some relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting contact and their willingness to engage in it. This a logical assumption and one which a greater understanding of is required as it could connect organisational trust and participant anxiety as pre-contact anxiety is a major predictor of contact avoidance (Turner et al. 2007, Stephan & Stephan 1985). It may be the case that if participants trust the organisation facilitating the contact then they are less anxious about taking part in it and thus less likely to avoid it.

This could mean that participant trust towards the organisation or programme is built before the contact. Here individuals may not necessarily trust the programme or organisation at the time of agreeing to take part, but they do by the time that delivery begins and the baseline data is recorded. That participants can be “primed” for contact is not a novel idea with Stathi et al (2012) using imaginary contact scenarios to allow participants to prepare themselves for actual contact. This has been shown to lead to greater self-efficacy and reduced pre-contact anxiety in participants (Vezzali et al 2012, Stathi et al 2012). Building organisational trust pre-contact may have similar effects and, if so, would infer that it is a moderator of contact outcomes. It could, though, also be the case that participants do only engage with the programme at all because they have some base level of organisational trust towards the

body running it. If this is the case, then understanding why participants trust the organisation is still important.

Potentially linked to this is that the quantitative analysis found data which was suggestive of a relationship between the method of participant recruitment and their level of trust in the programme at the pre-course stage. Those recruited to the programme through schools and/or colleges was higher than those recruited via the 'Near Neighbours' programme (school/college sub-group mean=43.97, near neighbours sub-group mean = 42.75). Though not a statistically significant difference and well within the margins of statistical and/or measurement error, this is worthy of exploration as to why this may be the case and the implications of it. This will be analysed and discussed separately in section 7.3.4.

The dimensions of trust in the organisation

Based on the literature review, the first set of analysis here follows the work of Mayer et al. (1995) in focusing on three key organisational attributes assessed by individuals when assessing trustworthiness. These are ability, benevolence and integrity (otherwise known as ABI). In an organisational context, ability covers the technical competence of an organisation to perform tasks expected of it, benevolence is the trustor's expectation of the organisation's concern for his well-being and integrity is the extent to which the trustor believes that the organisation will act in an open, honest and fair manner. These perceptions of three organisational attributes fit with the definitions of trust outlined by Rousseau et al (1998) in the theoretical framework and have organisational, as well as interpersonal levels to them (Kroeger 2017).

This research also sought to explore the importance of predictability as a facet of organisational trust in intergroup contact. Though predictability alone is not a predictor of trust (Mayer et al 1995) because an organisation which can be confidently predicted to exploit an individual's vulnerabilities is not one which is likely to be trusted, positive predictability can be seen to underpin other trustworthy behaviours (Gabarro 1978, Dasgupta 1988). For this reason it was included in this research because of the emergent link with pre-contact anxiety in the Literature Review. Given that participant pre-contact anxiety is a major predictor of negative intergroup contact outcomes (Stephan & Stephan 2005, Crisp & Turner 2012) it might be expected that if a participant has an expectation of an organisation facilitating contact behaving in a predictably positive way, then they are likely to experience lower level of pre-contact anxiety.

A deductive approach was taken to the high-level coding here with the interviewee reasoning behind their trusting Catalyst being coded to the ABI+P framework. This provides structure

and conceptual clarity to the coding and allows for an inductive approach to run parallel to this where there are common emergent themes.

This is to develop a deeper understanding and knowledge of what it is that participants mean or are referring to when they say that they trust an organisation. Understanding why and how participants trust allows, in turn, for better grasp of the preconditions for trust to be built and any positive outcomes of this to occur.

Table 7.2 shows incidents of each of the ABI+P codes by participant. This gives insight into what interviewees as a whole felt were the main facets of organisational behaviour which built trust, and which were not. Here perceived benevolence and ability are given a much higher status than both perceived integrity and predictability by interviewees. Clear themes did emerge in the coding as to how these perceptions were formed and why they were important to the interviewees when considering their relationship with the organisation. These are analysed individually.

Table 7.2 Interviewee Reason for Trusting Referent by ABI+P

Interviewee	Perceived Ability	Perceived Benevolence	Perceived Integrity	Perceived Predictability
1	3	4	1	1
2	4	2	2	0
3	4	4	2	0
4	2	4	1	0
5	2	4	1	1
6	2	2	0	0
7	1	4	0	2
8	3	6	0	0
9	2	1	0	1
10	1	4	2	1
11	3	4	1	0
TOTAL	**27**	**39**	**10**	**6**

Perceived ability

Interviewee perceptions of the ability of the Catalyst programme relate to their view of the programme and the technical competence of those running it to perform the tasks expected of them. In this case, this will be the delivery of the Catalyst programme.

The willingness of interviewees to devote their time to participation in the course was an unexpressed declaration that there was a trust in the ability of the Catalyst programme to perform to a standard that made this cost of time worthwhile. All interviewees were aged between 18 and 24 at the time of their participation in the programme and complaints about sessions being run on weekends and outside of school or college hours were recurrent. Whilst this could easily be dismissed as trivial, the fact that interviewees attach a value to their time and were willing to use this time on the programme is a signal of the value that they place on Catalyst and, therefore, the trust that they place on the programme and those running it to deliver as promised. This meets with the Mayer et al (1995) definition of trust as the trustor having positive expectations of the behaviour of the referent.

That CUF have a proven track record of delivering high quality training and interfaith work was a factor behind this trust in the ability of the programme to deliver the outputs expected of it, as was the perception that CUF are genuinely committed to the work that they do. This is a clear link between participant perceptions of ability and their perceptions of integrity in that CUF are seen as being capable of delivering this work because they have been seen to work in a way which is reflective of it. This could possibly show the value added to intergroup contact programmes in using established and recognised providers from within the community, voluntary and faith sectors and, if so, would bode well for the model of government provision as detailed in Chapter 3.

> *"Yeah. Yeah, I do [trust CUF]. Cause I think they've got a good record in faith work and they're pretty well established."*- Interviewee 5

Outcomes of the programme, and therefore the investment in time that participants trusted to see returned, included developing skills, networks and experiences which are relevant to their future aspirations, both in the community, voluntary and faith sector or the private sector.

Catalyst participants were awarded an accredited qualification from Leicester College for completing the course, but this is no longer the case and the programme is, as of 2020, not accredited. Formal accreditations and recognition fit well with the concept of institutionally based trust (Bachmann & Inkpen 2011), but these accredited qualifications do not appear to be a major factor in this study.

The majority of interviewees took part whilst there was a formal award for doing so but, given the prevalence of references to building skills, experiences and networks the programme being formally accredited was, somewhat surprisingly, not mentioned by interviewees as being an important motivation for them in taking part on the programme. This could be

indicatory of a genuine belief on the part of interviewees that the programme outcomes, and not the award for completion, were the motivating factors. If this is the case, then it represents a real trust in the ability of Catalyst to fulfil the aims of the programme.

Perceived benevolence

Interviewee perceptions of the benevolence of the Catalyst programme relate to their expectation of the organisations concern for their well-being. This can be both short-term, in as much as wanting the participants to enjoy their involvement in the programme, and longer term with regards to future attainment. There is also an implied expectation in any intergroup contact scenario, and indeed most interactions with organisations, that the organisation will wish to keep the participants free from physical or emotional harm.

Interviewee perceptions of the benevolent behaviours associated with the programme are split into three referents. These are the organisation supporting the programme, those working on delivering the programme and fellow participants in it. Of all the interview data collected, the strongest interviewee perceptions of trust as an organisation came when interviewees were discussing why they felt that CUF run the Catalyst programme. Here there is was a strong consensus that CUF operate the programme for the good of others and of society as whole. This is a strong match with the benevolence field and an awareness of organisational identity from the participants.

> *"Well, I don't really know what they do but I'm assuming they have money and they wanted to do something good with it rather than something bad so that's a good thing"*- Interviewee 7

> *"I think it runs Catalyst to open people's eyes and show them that there's different mindsets, and there's different people to you … mostly about equality and stuff like that"*- Interviewee 10

> *"I think they want to see a change in society. I think they want to see a change in views and because its mostly the youth who took part in the Catalyst programme I think the youth are the future and in taking part, in supporting the Catalyst programme, they are trying to change the future for the better"*- Interviewee 2

Interviewees also strongly identified the facilitators and trainers on the programme as people who are doing these roles because they have an interest in the well-being of participants, their local areas and/or wider society. The idea of the trainers "giving back" and using their skills and experience to help others develop their own was prevalent. In particular some of

the senior figures in the Catalyst team were singled out for helping interviewees and others known to the interviewees to develop after the programme end:

> *"So at the time the overseers, CUF1 and CUF2, they recognised talents in us and they'd tell us, make us aware of things that accommodated us. For example CUF2, the Faith and Belief Forum, they did some events in Greater Manchester and CUF2 said that this would be really good for the work that you do so come along for it and we were invited to Lambeth Palace to welcome the Sheik with Justin Welby so the fact that they've kept in touch with us, even until now, after the programme that's made me have trust in them."*- Interviewee 3

> *"I know [Near Neighbours Coordinators] CUF3 and CUF1 were both really passionate about seeing growth in young people and providing them with opportunities and knowledge"*- Interviewee 3

> *"I would say just to give back and share their skills. Maybe just to show, I think, one was on media and I think it was really beneficial for the lady to be there because she was actually in the media so she could actually give relevant experience from her career"*- Interviewee 1

Interviewees also showed a high-level of pragmatism here by recognising that, though the work undertaken by the trainers and facilitators is for the good of others, they are paid for it and it is a job for them. The awareness of the transactional nature of the relationship is an important one and suggests that the interviewees, as ex-participants, are not merely viewing their experiences with the programme and those involved in it through nostalgic, rose-tinted glasses.

Finally, the perceptions of benevolent behaviour and intentions were also extended to other participants on the programme. A repeated pattern across all thematic areas in the coding is that interviewees associate their time on the programme, and the programme itself, with the other members of their cohort. That the interviewees themselves are on the programme of their own volition to develop their own skills as leaders and to gain a greater appreciation and understanding of diversity helps them to project these ambitions onto others in their cohort. This brings about a clear linkage to the optimal intergroup contact pre-condition of those engaged in the contact having common goals.

> *"Everyone's comfortable, everyone knows each other, everyone likes each other, they get along … if someone needed help, they'd come to you and they'd rely on you*

and trust … not rely, because you have to be independent as well, but they trust you enough to help them"- Interviewee 10

Perceived integrity

Interviewee perceptions of the integrity of the Catalyst refer to the beliefs that the organisation will act and engage in an open, honest and fair manner. These perceptions of the programme tended to be heavily focussed on individuals and representatives of the programme as the referent, rather than Catalyst or CUF themselves. Here there was a strong preference towards the person over the organisation.

"I don't think my level of trust has changed, per se. I think it's probably maybe increased even more after doing it, realising just how much I valued that space and how I want that to continue, even from, like, a community level through projects like that. Real people, honest talk. Yeah."- Interviewee 6

"Like having faith in someone that they will keep their word and that they will do what they say they will do."- Interviewee 5

This could though be related to the depth of engagement which the interviewee has had with Catalyst and/or CUF. One interviewee quoted earlier in this section in reference to his perceptions of the ability of the programme believes that the organisation *"practises what it preaches",* whilst another believes that the organisations running the programme are "genuine" (Interviewee 9).

Both of these interviewees are now internal stakeholders to CUF, though they were not at the time of their involvement in the programme. Using the definitions of Freeman (1984 cited in Pirson & Malhotra 2010) an internal stakeholder is involved in the functioning of the organisation and may be an employee, whereas an external stakeholder based outside of the organisation and is likely to be a customer or service user. That different stakeholders, dependent on their interaction with an organisation will look for different attributes and referents of trust within the organisation is well established (Sheppard & Sherman 1998, Mollering, Bachmann and Lee 2004: 557). This insight is useful in that it highlights that the more typical intergroup contact participant is likely to be an external stakeholder and therefore may place greater emphasis on interpersonal trust than organisational trust, or may project their trust in an individual who represents the organisation onto the wider body.

Perceived predictability

Predictability of the referent is seen to underpin other trustworthy behaviours but is not an indicator of trustworthiness in the same way that ABI are. Predictable behaviours do not always generate trust, and this is because if an individual or an organisation can be predictably relied on to betray the vulnerability of the trustor, this will likely not lead to a trust relationship (Mayer et al. 1995: 714). Thus, positive interviewee perceptions of the predictability of the Catalyst refer to the beliefs that the trustor can expect predictability in the organisation's behaviour in terms of what is 'normally' expected of an organisation acting in good faith. This uses the work of Gabarro (1978) and Dasgupta (1988) which recognises the two-way nature of predictability in trust relationships, but which draws focus to the positive facet.

This definition of predictability is adopted in this analysis in part because this section is seeking to determine how trust may be built, and this is a positive act, but also because there were no references at all from interviewees of Catalyst or related referents behaving in predictably negative ways.

A very good example of predictability underpinning other trustworthy behaviours can be seen below. Here the interviewee trusts because they believe that the referent will behave in a positively predictable way which honours their integrity. Similarly, two interviewees (9 and 7) are clear that the organisation behaving in a consistently positive way which has not led them to mistrust means that they will continue to have positive expectations of future motivations and behaviour. This is the very close to the definitions of trust used by Rousseau et al. (1998) and Mayer et al. (1995).

> *"Like having faith in someone that they will keep their word and that they will do what they say they will do."*- Interviewee 5

> *"I've not seen anything that would lead me not to trust"*- Interviewee 9

> *"Yes, because it has not failed me, it hasn't given me any reason to think it would, also like I've come out a better person because of it and you've got to have somebody to put your trust in, you know, I trust it could do the same to other people so, yeah, I would say I've put my trust in Catalyst. And yeah as I said, they haven't screwed me over yet so, you know?"*- Interviewee 7

It is important to acknowledge though that perceived predictability only occurred as a reason for trusting the Catalyst programme 6 times out a total of 82 codings from the 11 interviews, and was therefore likely not a major factor in the building of trust in the organisation. In many

of these incidents too, these were participants talking about their ongoing interactions with Catalyst or the individual who represented Catalyst to them rather than their initial perceptions or engagement with the programme:

> *"Yeah I would say that they were very encouraging of us to get together and work on our own projects. If we had questions or wanted support we could get in touch with them. They've kept in regular contact with us so definitely."*- Interviewee 1

> *"I guess like you just kind of need it because like you need to be able to put your faith in someone and just kind of trust that it will happen. Yeah, no, I feel that it's very important, I wouldn't know how to define it but, yeah, no, for a leader I think it's very important for someone to like put their faith in you they need to trust you. But that also goes back to just being a good role model and what not, just having manners and that, it's like if someone can trust you to, you know, just be polite, be a good person I'm sure they can trust you to like don't sit there, don't or do something that they need done, whereas like, you know, if you're running up walls all day being a crackhead no-one's going to trust you"*- Interviewee 7

> *"I felt like I could trust all of them, and it was just really nice to know that they wouldn't do anything that I wouldn't like, and I wouldn't do anything that they wouldn't like"*- Interviewee 10

Predictability did not emerge as a significant standalone dimension in how and why participants trust Catalyst. Instead it was largely implicit and subsumed into the ABI categories.

7.3.4 Pre contact organisational trust

Emergent from the analysis of the dimensions of trust in the organisation was that there appeared to be an important and recurrent relationship between how participants were recruited to the programme and how they began to develop trust towards it. This links in tightly with the findings in the quantitative data which showed that participants recruited through their schools and colleges came into the intervention with slightly higher levels of organisational trust than those who did not.

Routes into the programme appear to be divided into 3 distinct pathways. These are through a personal recommendation from a friend or family member, by a representative of Catalyst or CUF or through the participant's school or college. The inference here is that it could be the participant's relationship with the organisation which is referring them to the programme

which leads them to trust the organisation supporting the contact. This requires more detail and depth of analysis than was available through the quantitative figures.

No participants in the quantitative cohort being low trust individuals makes this a topic which is worthy of further examination too. The OTI scale allows for participant trust to be measured on a range from 12-60 and in the quantitative data sample the observed range of OTI scores was 36-58 with a mean of 44. This means that the data was positively skewed and that most pre-course OTI scores fell in the upper quadrant. Participants then were entering into the intervention with medium to high levels of organisational trust, and this analysis aims to build cognizance as to why this is the case and how this can impact on the contact outcomes.

A clearly emergent trend in the interview coding was that many participants lacked significant knowledge of the programme aims and structure prior to their participation on it. This was particularly the case for interviewees who were not already working in the community, voluntary or faith sector prior to their participation. This leads to a strange situation whereby those engaging with the programme may not know much about it, but the quantitative data suggests that they enter into it with a degree of trust in the organisation hosting it. This means that it is possible that participant perceptions of organisational trust are, in fact, based on their trust of other parties or on their own previous experiences.

The lack of knowledge of the programme before taking part on it led to a significant amount of responses coded to the ABI codes also being retrospective on the part of participants but this is less problematic for the research where the referent of trust was an individual, be they internal or external to the programme. For instance, where we see that the participant is referred to the programme, or made aware of it, by a friend or family member the feelings of trust that they have towards that individual are projected on to the programme itself. Often this comes under perceived benevolence. Similarly, where the referent of the trust is a representative of the programme and the individual has prior experience of working with the individual (or knows someone who does) there is the perception of ability. Again, this links back to the idea that internal and external stakeholders will have different attributes which they value in determining the trustworthiness of the organisation (Pirson & Malhotra 2010) and highlights the importance of organisations being aware of who they recruit and how.

The three recruitment pathways into the programme are here analysed and discussed separately.

CUF recruitment

The Catalyst programme is run by CUF as a part of their wider 'Near Neighbours' programme and CUF have a direct aim of having recruitment pathways operating between the two. The 'Near Neighbours' model uses locally based Community Coordinators to facilitate social action and social interaction at a grassroots level within their communities. This is central to the localised ethos of the programme and these Community Coordinators are tasked with encouraging both new social action and new participants in social action. The Coordinators operate a two-way referral and recruitment process between the programmes. This is with a view to Catalyst alumni going on to be involved in 'Near Neighbours' work and, of focus here, how young people who are involved with or aware of 'Near Neighbours' being recruited to Catalyst.

The quotes below illustrate how central both that the Coordinators are to this recruitment process and the fact that 'Near Neighbours' has a physical presence in local communities. In the first two of these quotes the personal link of the Coordinators and their extended networks act as the recruiter to interested young people whilst in the latter two the presence of the programme in local areas enables young people who are potentially interested to be signposted towards it.

> *"I had also met with the Near Neighbours coordinator from Luton, CUF4, so actually I met with her about 3 years ago and she also suggested that I check out the Catalyst programme because I said that I was interested in the charity sector and interfaith work."*- Interviewee 5

> *"I'm friends with her son and he spoke on his mother's behalf, like, 'My mum works with Near Neighbours, would any of you be interested to do this Catalyst programme?'"*- Interviewee 10

> *"I got some further information on it [from Near Neighbours] and found it really relevant to what I'm doing"*-Interviewee 1

> *"when I went there, and at the same time I met with NAME– because St. Philips Centre, which is part of Near Neighbours"*- Interviewee 8

The use of the St Phillips Centre in Leicester, a nationally recognised centre for promoting positive interfaith relations, may be important here in lending the credibility of that organisation to Catalyst. Similarly, the 'Near Neighbours' Coordinators tend to be active and well-established figures in the community, voluntary and faith sectors in their local areas. These clearly carry some kind of interpersonal element to them, but these can be seen as

coming under the umbrella of Catalyst or CUF as an organisation as they are internal stakeholders to these.

That 'Near Neighbours' Coordinators are willing to recruit for and vouch for the programme will project trust positively towards Catalyst and these positive projections which are based on pre-existing trust relationships between the participant and the referrer may lead to pre-contact trust in the supporting organisation. This respect and how it can be transferred over to a willingness to participate in, and therefore show a level of trust towards, the programme is well demonstrated below.

> *"No, I'd never even heard of it until she reached out to me, yeah."*- Interviewee 6

Here the interviewee was willing to take part on a programme which they had previously no experience of based on the recommendation of a representative of the organisation.

> <u>Personal recommendation</u>

Where recommendations and referrals to Catalyst through 'Near Neighbours' clearly carry some kind of personal element to them, these are from internal stakeholders and so can be seen to form a part of the programme or organisation itself. The personal recommendations or referrals here all come from individuals who are external stakeholders of the programme and this, as per Pirson & Malhotra (2010), includes *'service users'.* This includes previous participants.

There were several incidences of interviewees either being referred onto the programme by friends or family who have been on the programme previously and had good experiences of it. These below are typical of this:

> *"So, at the start I didn't know or hear about the Catalyst programme until a friend of mine recommended it"*- Interviewee 2

> *"I sent my sister on the programme and another of my relatives because I recommended it to them"*- Interviewee 3

This links closely with the concept of 'facework' (Giddens 1990, Kroeger 2017) whereby interpersonal or organisation trust from the referring party is transferred into trust in the organisation and this appears to be an effective method of giving participants trust and confidence in the programme before any formal interaction has begun. The various articulations of recruitment and reasons for participants trusting Catalyst which are linked to facework is highly emergent.

The movement of trust through personal networks here too draws parallels with the extended contact model (Wright et al 1997). This model operates on the basis that intergroup bias and prejudice can be reduced just through the knowledge that an ingroup member has a close and positive relationship with a member of an outgroup. This is often simplified as being the idea that "my friend's friend is my friend" and it can be seen through the recollections of interviewees around how they came into contact with Catalyst that many were willing to engage with the programme because of this kind of extended contact. They had seen that their friends or family were positive towards it and were therefore presupposed to the idea that they would be too. Interestingly, Mallett & Wilson (2010) believe that extended contact works by reducing participant anxiety towards other groups. If the other group in question here is the Catalyst programme, then it may be the case this lower anxiety towards participation is shown as greater pre-contact trust in the supporting organisation.

School or College

Recruitment through schools and colleges has proportionately grown to make up a larger and larger share of the Catalyst intake over time and is now the programme's main vehicle of delivery. Overall, 36 of the 45 participants in the quantitative data sample were recruited through their school or college. This has been deliberate policy on the part of CUF as recruitment through schools and colleges represents good, sustainable recruitment and partnership working as new students, and therefore potential Catalyst participants, come on stream every year. Where recruitment had previously been more reliant on existing networks and relationships, this was not the case and the future pool of participants was rather more finite.

Interviewees who were recruited to the programme in this way appear to have less detailed information as to what the programme constitutes and take at face value from the representative of the school or college that their participation will be beneficial (or at least not injurious) to them. This is a demonstration of the participant trusting this representative of their school or college and of the Catalyst programme being able to successfully leverage and use this.

> *"I was in college then I think my teacher came up to me and she said something along the lines of leadership programme and then I was like, yeah, why not?"*- Interviewee 7

> *"The teacher was just explaining how we can gain skills and qualities and learn from other people… She was just like 'this programme will be good for your*

communication skills'. It was more about leadership, teamwork, communication."- Interviewee 11

"I don't even think it was really sold to me as a leadership programme."- Interviewee 5

This lack of pre-course knowledge of the programme and content makes it surprising that participants in the quantitative dataset who were recruited in this way showed higher levels of pre-course trust in Catalyst those recruited through other methods. This is suggestive of factors around personal referees for the programme having trust in them projected onto it or there being some form of institutionally based trust transfer taking place (Bachmann & Inkpen 2011). Participants do not necessarily know much about the programme themselves to trust it, but they do know that people or institutions which they already do trust are comfortable in vouching for it.

In this recruitment scenario the schools and colleges are providing organisational support to Catalyst and this may draw comparisons with intergroup contact studies which show that where organisations take positive and proactive approaches to encouraging intergroup contact, that outcomes are typically more positive. In studies in the US the role of schools in encouraging this contact and the subsequent improved openness of students to engagement in intergroup contact is well documented (Longshore and Wellisch 1982, Molina and Wittig 2006). Effectively the schools and colleges in the US studies are giving their institutional approval to intergroup contact practices and this, in turn, makes them more well received by their students. It is possible that this process carries over into establishing pre-contact trust in the programme too. If a pupil's school or college are willing to recruit for and/or host a programme, the pupil can have some degree of confidence that the programme has been vetted by the school and is compliant with expected standards of content and safeguarding.

This shows that there is a clear link to organisational trust through the concept of situational normality as routine and learned behaviours and patterns of interactions and adherence to known rules and norms see trust being built as an unintended consequence of the routine (Misztal 2001). The data from both the quantitative and qualitative sets could be indicative of organisational trust in the body supporting intergroup contact, where the body is hosted or supported by a school or college, being positively impacted by this association. Situational normality being used in this way also links to Luhmann's (1979) ideas that trust can act as a mechanism for reducing social complexity by allowing individuals to better make snap decisions as to whether or not to trust. If participant's school or college host or refer to the programme, then this is an obvious demonstration of their trust in it. It is therefore logical to

consider that if the participants have trust in their school or college, in that they believe that their best intentions are being looked after, they will choose to trust the programme without investing time and effort into developing a detailed understanding of it.

It is of interest though that when discussing being signposted or recommended to the programme by their school or college, the interviewees typically still saw the referent of their trust in these organisations as being an individual and not the organisation themselves. This was typically true of when interviewees were being referred to the programme by 'Near Neighbours' too and this is obviously the case when they are being referred by a person know to them. This again links closely with the concept of 'facework' (Giddens 1990, Kroeger 2017) as trust from the referring party is transferred into trust in the organisation which they are referring to.

It is consequently an area of importance in understanding how trust is built in the Catalyst programme, and in ways which may be more widely generalisable to other intergroup contact interventions, to understand more about who referents of trust are when participants describe their trust relationship which Catalyst.

7.3.5 Participant referent of organisational trust

Participant trust in the Catalyst programme as the facilitator of an intergroup contact intervention being a factor which influences the outcome of the contact is evident from the quantitative findings in Chapter 6. It is relevant that there was a moderate to high level of trust in the organisation prior to the programme and that this saw a statistically significant increase by programme end, and that both these pre and post measures of trust were correlated to paired participant prejudice. Higher levels of participant trust in the organisation were also closely correlated with paired participant prejudice change as a result of the intervention. Together this tells us that organisational trust does have a relationship to intergroup contact outcomes, but what is not made clear is who the referent of this trust is.

Although an organisation can be the referent, or focal point, of an individual's trust towards it, the data in section 7.3.3 on how trust in Catalyst is built shows that this relationship is often far more layered and nuanced than this. The mixed methods approach allows for a greater depth of understanding as to how the trust relationship between the participant and the programme works. As such the following analysis of the interviews with previous programme participants focusses on who or what the participants see as being their referent of trust when discussing the Catalyst programme.

The findings and discussion in this section overlap significantly with all other areas of the qualitative analysis but will add further depth and understanding as to who, or what, participants in the intergroup contact scenario trust are. This section being able to stand alone from others will allow for a greater clarity in the presentation of this important finding. As participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact has some relationship to the outcomes of the contact, knowing who or what is the most recognised vehicle for this trust being built is crucial in optimising the outcomes of the intergroup contact intervention.

An initial deductive coding analysis was conducted and this was structured on the theories of trust building and likely referents of trust in the literature review. The outcomes of this are shown in Table 7.3 and are instances of the referent of trust when an interviewee is discussing why they trust the Catalyst programme.

This data shows that internal referents of the organisation were far more prevalent in terms of mentions relevant to trust than external referents were. The difference in volume between the number of internal and external mentions strongly implies that interviewees are aware of Catalyst as an organisation and that they do associate the correct people with it. References to internal representatives make up over half of all the incidents of coding for internal and external referents of all types. This, of course, also links back to section 7.3.3 which showed that a great deal of trust in the organisation was built at an interpersonal level.

Internal referents are those who are formal representatives of the Catalyst programme and those under which it sits, including CUF and the Church of England, whilst external referents are all those who have no formal association with the programme.

These figures do not include instances of interviewees discussing their belonging to a Catalyst ingroup or when they are directly discussing their relationships or feelings towards other programme participants. This was a larger dataset which was emergent during the initial coding exercise and was formed into its own separate thematic strands including trust in fellow participants, ongoing interactions and group belonging.

Table 7.3 Referent of Trust by Interviewee

	External Referent			Internal Referent		
Interviewee	**Personal**	**Faith, Community or Voluntary sector**	**Professional**	**CUF**	**Representative**	**Catalyst**
1	0	0	1	1	3	0
2	1	0	0	0	3	2
3	1	1	0	1	4	0
4	0	0	1	1	5	0
5	0	1	2	0	6	0
6	0	1	1	1	2	1
7	0	0	1	1	3	1
8	1	0	0	0	5	3
9	0	0	1	1	3	0
10	1	0	0	0	3	2
11	0	0	1	0	4	1
TOTAL	**4**	**3**	**8**	**6**	**41**	**10**

Detailed analysis of all the coding strands, including the emergent, are now presented thematically and the linked at the end of this section.

External referents

External referents are not associated with CUF or the Catalyst programme but are typically individuals or organisations who referred the interviewee to the programme directly or, more indirectly, made them aware of it. Examples of this include friends and family members who had previously been on the programme, colleagues that had also done so or line managers who recommended it for professional development.

> *"So, at the start I didn't know or hear about the Catalyst programme until a friend of mine recommended it"*- Interviewee 2

The quotes above are of an individual making themselves vulnerable to the actions of the programme based on the recommendation of a friend. This is despite them having limited knowledge of the programme or the content of it. Several interviewees (though not all with external referents) shared this same experience. As covered in the previous section this method of referral towards the programme appears to create an extended contact type model whereby participants are willing to engage with the programme and make themselves

vulnerable to the actions of it. This is because they are aware that their friends or family are positive towards it and therefore, they are too.

The small number of instances of interviewees discussing an external referent in relation to their trust in the organisation make it hard to draw out recurrent themes here because of the lack of mentions and data. Having trust in the programme because an individual who you trust is occurrent here and when observing responses regarding internal referents too, and so this is likely generalisable. It therefore appears that, in the case of Catalyst, external referents of trust are not highly relevant when seeking to understand who the referent of trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact is.

Internal referents

Internal referents of trust towards the programme here are split into a mix of trust in the organisation (CUF and Catalyst) and interpersonal trust projected onto the organisation. Here internal organisational referents are comprised of the programme itself and CUF and the host organisation. The host organisations here are schools and colleges, and this is typical of the programme as a whole. Interpersonal internal referents are those individuals who run or facilitate the Catalyst programme and these are the representatives.

In the vast majority of instances, the interviewee is referring to a representative as being their referent of trust when discussing the trust that they hold in the Catalyst programme. In 56 codings from a total of 72 the referent of participant trust in the organisation is a representative of it, and not the organisation itself. The quotes below are typical of this recurrent trend:

> *"The people who run it are good people. It reassures me that someone like CUF5 is doing it. Someone like CUF6."*- Interviewee 4

In many instances there are strong overlaps here with the reasons why participants choose to trust the programme which are detailed in section 7.3.3 and perceptions of the benevolence of internal organisational representatives. Here individuals were identified as undertaking the roles and tasks that they do with the programme because they have an interest in the well-being of participants, their local areas and/or wider society. That internal representatives are using their skills and experience to help others develop was a common theme and it was striking that a name was nearly always attached to the referent. To the interviewee, these are people with whom they have a trust relationship with, and not interchangeable organisational figures.

"So at the time the overseers, CUF1 and CUF2, they recognised talents in us and they'd tell us, make us aware of things that accommodated us."- Interviewee 3

"I had also met with the Near Neighbours coordinator from Luton, CUF4, so actually I met with her about 3 years ago and she also suggested that I check out the Catalyst programme because I said that I was interested in the charity sector and interfaith work"- Interviewee 5

"Her name was CUF7, she came in to do our Catalyst programmes and she was a really nice woman, she kind of encapsulated everything about it."- Interviewee 7

This is an expected pattern in that interviewees associate their trust in the organisation with people, but that these are people who are internal to the organisation and not external. There are very few codings which relate to external individuals, but many for those who are internal. Their trust in these internal representatives of the programme is then conferred upwards to the organisational level. As with the building of pre-contact trust, this ties in with the facework concept (Giddens 1990, Kroeger 2017). Interpersonal trust is turned fairly seamlessly into trust in the organisation through the conduct and behaviours of the organisational representatives. These individuals who are representing the programme and organisation are seen by participants as behaving in trustworthy and virtuous ways and these are then conferred onto the wider organisation.

In some instances, the interviewees were able to recognise that there is a linkage between their trust in the representatives of the organisation and their trust in the organisation itself. This is can be seen in the quote below, and this is entirely consistent with trust literature which suggests that when representatives of an organisation behave in a way which garners trust, that this trust can be conferred onto the organisation. There is an obvious parallel here too with the Intergroup Contact Model whereby a positive interaction with an outgroup member, provided that the individual is identified as belonging to an outgroup, will lead to lower levels of prejudice towards that outgroup (Hewstone & Brown 1986). Here, a positive interaction with an organisational representative, provided that the individual is identified as representing the organisation, appears to lead to higher levels of trust towards that organisation.

"Yeah I don't see the point in trusting an institution without knowing who the people are behind it. I do trust those people. They're a good group of people that they have around the Catalyst course"- Interviewee 4

As the quantitative data shows that participant levels of trust in the organisation supporting contact are related to positive contact outcomes, then it is likely that these interpersonal behaviours which influence participant organisational trust are also factors in this relationship.

Often interviewees only referred to the organisation being the referent of their trust when CUF or Catalyst were directly named by the interviewer. There are very few spontaneous occurrences of this and in the vast majority of occurrences, interviewees named an individual with whom they had directly interacted with as their referent when discussing the organisation instead of the organisation or programme itself. This is particularly the case when the ethos or the values of the programme are being referred and are linked by the interviewee to those of the named individual.

An interesting facet of this is when an individual was named as the referent when discussing the organisation and the interviewee talked of that individual defining the cohort. This links back to the previous discussion in 7.3.1 and shows the importance facework (Giddens 1990, Kroeger 2017). In Catalyst the facilitators in establishing the programme and group norms project, or are seen to project, their virtues onto the programme and, as such, onto the participants who choose to be part of it.

> *"She I think is just a good person. She strikes me genuinely. I don't think I've come across a better one in a work environment. So, I think she has her head screwed on. She's got good values and what I determine good values are what link to Catalyst so I think her values."*- Interviewee 4

Group belonging and trust in fellow participants

This subsection is based on emergent themes which recurred during the deductive phase of the hybrid coding process. These were not thematic areas which had been considered at the research inception stage and that they were able to be picked out and developed is a justification of the mixed methods and hybrid coding approaches. Without these, there is a danger that the research may have just focused on testing existing theory and not being cognisant of trends in the data which can lead to the development of new theories or ideas.

A very distinct pattern emerged in how interviewees described their trust relationship with the organisation, and this was through the frequent use of words such as *"we"* and *"our"* when the discussing the cohort that they had taken part in. Words such as these signify belonging and that the interviewee sees others in that cohort as a part of their ingroup. Again, this creation of a superordinate identity (Allport 1954) underpins the Common Group Identity

Model of intergroup contact (Gaertner & Dovidio 2000). Interviewees shifting from describing ingroup members as “us” and outgroup members as “them” to describing members of the common group as “we” is a commonly used signal of a common group identity emerging and superseding outgroup differences (Gaertner, Dovidio & Bachman 1996).

Here, in these examples, the young people in their cohort have, at least to the mind of the interviewees, ceased to be disparate groups of individuals from different social, religious and faith backgrounds who live in roughly the same geographic area but have formed their own ingroup identities. This was a hugely recurring theme amongst all interviewees and the quotes below are representative of the 96 that were coded here.

> *“When I think of Catalyst I think of the people I took it with and the enjoyment and the things that we did together”*- Interviewee 2
>
> *“so she was giving us experience which we never heard of and never knew. You know what I mean? So kind of opened us, teach us – stuff we had never heard”*- Interviewee 11
>
> *“Like I said, I’m so happy I was with the group I was with, I felt like I could trust all of them, and it was just really nice to know that they wouldn’t do anything that I wouldn’t like, and I wouldn’t do anything that they wouldn’t like. We were all … like, on a level if you know what I mean”*- Interviewee 10

The final quote above is extremely important because, not only does it directly refer to and acknowledge the existence of this new, superordinate “group”, but it also links this to trust and almost paraphrases the definitions of trust used by Rousseau et al. (1998) and Mayer et al. (1995). This overlaps and ties in very closely with the findings already discussed in section 7.3.1. The fulfilment of the pre-requisites for optimal intergroup contact and outcomes of trust and shown to be intrinsically linked through the creation of a shared, common identity amongst participants. They trust the group and members of it because they are a part of it themselves. Here they have become internal stakeholders (Pirson & Malhotra 2010) of their own sub-organisation and have a greater depth of engagement with it.

Continued engagement with Catalyst

A further emergent theme in the qualitative analysis of participant referent of trust in the organisation supporting contact came through interviewee discussions of how they continue to engage with or stay in contact with the Catalyst programme. This is particularly good data as it gives instances of actual behaviour as well as attitudes. Here because the interviewee

responses are things that they do or have done, thus there is less of a potential impact of interviewees producing socially desirable responses.

All of the interviewees, by the virtue of them being in the sample, had maintained some kind of contact or ongoing interaction with the Catalyst programme, and that Catalyst was directly referred to in the subsection above as being a *"community",* would lead to some expectation that the interviewees would be formally engaged with the programme's alumni scheme. This alumni scheme is a formal networking programme which is free for participants. The scheme aims to keep previous participants in contact with one another and to raise awareness of opportunities available to them, including linking to the wider 'Near Neighbours' programme. This is an area of Catalyst which CUF have placed a focus and high-profile on, with the alumni network linking previous participants with their local MPs, European universities and other charities. However, the interviewees made no unprompted mention at all of the alumni network and some were only loosely aware of it, whilst others had no awareness of it even when directly being asked about it.

This, though, is not to say that interviewees have not continued to engage with one another, CUF and their Catalyst facilitators. Some Catalyst representatives were repeatedly named by interviewees as being the source of their trust in the programme and, in effect, their main association with the programme and here, for them, is where on-going contact continues. The efforts of individuals at Catalyst in maintaining contact with participants is a factor here with several interviewees citing the existence of a social network group set up by members of the Catalyst programme for each cohort to keep participants in touch and aware of upcoming opportunities. These social network groups are not a formal part of the Catalyst programme but do serve as an unofficial alumni network.

> *"CUF1 and CUF2 and CUF1 was in our WhatsApp group and she is really encouraging and we would talk about issues that are going to locally and nationally and CUF1 will be like "You do know that there are grants available for you to go outside the WhatsApp group and do something?"*- Interviewee 3

> *"One thing that really helped was the WhatsApp group. I don't know if you guys have a WhatsApp"*- Interviewee 6

The idea of Catalyst here is rather abstract as the focus of the participant and their link to the programme is the individual. Were the known Catalyst representative switched with another Catalyst representative with whom the interviewee did not have an established relationship with, it is unlikely that they would continue to engage at the same level. This is strongly suggestive that interpersonal trust is a key factor in how trust in the programme is built.

"CUF3, she joined after that time, because Catalyst is very small, only a few people. I still am in touch with them"- Interviewee 8

The role that the individual named as the referent of trust for the organisation has holds importance here as more official alumni schemes which aim to promote ongoing involvement and identification with the Catalyst programme have largely struggled to take hold (CUF 2016). With regards to practice, it appears that a more informal, person-led approach may be yielding greater returns and may therefore be an area in which practice can be improved in both the Catalyst programme and the wider faith, community and voluntary sector.

In terms of this research, the findings here suggest that because the referent of trust in the organisation is typically a person or people that the participant has engaged with, and that the trust that the individual holds towards the referent is not easily transferable to others, that it may be the people and not the programme that is trusted. The alumni schemes do not have great uptake, in part, because previous participants want to continue to be in contact with "their" Catalyst cohort. These are the people whom they personally know and have shared experiences with and, as such, they are less keen on meeting with other Catalyst participants from other cohorts. These are, in intergroup contact terms, outgroup members, even though they come under the Catalyst umbrella.

This is a major finding in relation to the research aims and implies that the role played by the support of the organisation facilitating intergroup contact in is important in providing a forum for interpersonal trust between participants and representatives to develop. The development of this trust, in turn, is a factor in producing a superordinate identity which leads to the development of positive, and longitudinal, intergroup contact outcomes.

This does paint a negative picture of trust in both the Catalyst programme and CUF as an organisation as most interview data around belonging and being a part of the programme are heavily linked to representatives and previous participants, rather than the organisations. This does not contradict previous findings around the levels of trust which participants believe that they hold in the programme and the organisation but rather is indicative of there being a contextual fluidity to these, and interviewees are much more likely to refer to Catalyst and CUF in the context of other organisations since their participation. This comes across most clearly when participants are discussing participation in Catalyst as a qualification or achievement which is recognised by employers or others in the community, voluntary and faith sectors. Here interviewees are willing and keen to link their name to that of Catalyst and CUF and to borrow the credibility of these bigger and more recognisable bodies. In short, would-be employers will know who the Church of England is, but they will

not know who a regional Catalyst trainer is, and so the Church of England becomes the referent.

> *"It's in a section towards the end that says I've been on leadership courses and this makes me well equipped to take on leadership positions. I can't devote that much time to Catalyst but it's on my CV."*- Interviewee 4

> *"I have mentioned it in my CV though, I've mentioned the youth club and how the Catalyst helped me develop my skills, and I put … my effort into the youth club, and input and stuff like that"*- Interviewee 10

Interviewees are able to project their trust upwards and to articulate it in such nuanced ways and this is suggestive that the trust does exist and that there is some degree of recognition of the organisation being more than the people in it. Interviewees are aware that Catalyst and CUF are the appropriate referents at an organisation to organisation level and are comfortable in using them as such.

All interviewees at the time of their participation in the programme would be classed at external stakeholders to it as per the framework developed by Pirson & Malhotra (2010). This framework states that external stakeholders will typically have shallow depth relationships with the organisation and base their trust judgements on the limited first-hand knowledge that they do have (Shepperd & Sherman 1998). Typically, this will be drawn from the interactions which they have with organisational representatives and not the organisation itself and so it should, perhaps, not be surprising that, though organisational trust does exist, the interviewees frame it in a way that is reflective of their experience and level of interaction with the organisation. This is typical of shallow organisation trust which is supplemented and given depth by linked interpersonal trust in people associated with the organisation.

Conclusion

The main findings of this section are that the referent of participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact, in this case study, tends to be individuals, and predominantly individuals who are representatives of the programme. This is not an entirely surprising finding given previous analysis around how trust built in the programme and interviewee emphasis on behaviours that reflect benevolence, but is still an important finding for understanding how interpersonal behaviours which influence participant organisational trust may then also have some relationship with intergroup contact outcomes.

Related to this are findings which suggest that the role played by the support of the organisation facilitating intergroup contact is vital for establishing a space in which

interpersonal trust between participants and representatives can develop. If participants do not trust enough to engage in the first place, then this cannot happen. The development of this trust, in turn, is a factor in producing a superordinate identity which leads to the development of positive, and longitudinal, intergroup contact outcomes.

Finally, the repeated references by participants to the Catalyst cohort to which they belonged and the trust in the programme that came alongside this is a strong finding which links into the role of organisational support in facilitating contact and the fulfilment of Allport's pre-requisites for optimal contact. The fulfilment of these pre-requisites and outcomes of trust are tied together via the creation of a shared, common identity amongst participants.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has built on the findings of the quantitative outcomes in Chapter 6 and added a great deal of depth and understanding to the processes at play. We now know, not only that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact are related, but much more about how and why. Additionally, this chapter has created new knowledge which gives a greater appreciation to the central role played by organisational trust and the organisation supporting intergroup contact in ensuring that optimal contact can take place.

A core finding in this chapter, and as such the research, is that trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact underpins the whole contact process, and not just the contact outcomes. Participants need to be able to trust that the organisation supporting the contact will treat them fairly and that their involvement will be both worthwhile and not injurious to them (Rousseau et al 1998), and so trust in the organisation becomes an important pre-cursor of intergroup contact. The establishment of this pre-contact trust may have been a factor in pre-contact anxiety not negatively moderating contact outcomes in this research.

It is well established that optimal intergroup contact can only occur when the preconditions of contact are all met and that the supporting organisation plays a *"special role"* (Pettigrew & Tropp 2007) in enabling these. The findings in this chapter are strongly supportive of this with the repeated participant references to Catalyst being a "safe space" as the clearest allusion. Participants must believe that the conditions of contact will be upheld, and this requires them to make themselves vulnerable (Mayer et al. 1995) to the idea that they may not be. This is trust in the organisation supporting contact, and the clear conclusion is that good contact is unlikely to be possible without this.

Establishing organisational trust in participants in order that they join the contact is therefore key to the contact taking place at all, and this chapter has suggested that this process is a complex and multi-faceted one. The referent of trust when participants are discussing the organisation was nearly always other individuals, and this is important for understanding how trust in the organisation was built and maintained. At the recruitment stage participants confer the interpersonal trust which they hold in the person referring the programme to them onto Catalyst itself, and in the case of a school or college promoting the programme, they confer the institutional-based trust of that school or college to Catalyst.

The idea of institutionally based trust resonates strongly with findings in the intergroup contact literature which show that an organisation supporting intergroup contact in situations of prejudice, segregation or discrimination provide an initial lead which participants follow (Koschate & Van Dick 2011). It is also established that pupils in schools which promote positive intergroup relations are more likely to hold positive views towards others and to seek these relationships out (Longshore & Wellisch 1982). Where trust is already placed in an institution and that institution supports or refers to another, this sets up an early shallow and low degree trust (Bachman & Inkpen 2011) that helps to prime participants towards engaging in the intergroup contact intervention. In practical terms, and particularly where contact avoidance is an issue, this may present a strong case for recruiting to intergroup contact and similar programmes through schools and colleges.

This is the concept of facework (Giddens 1990, Kroeger 2017) whereby interpersonal or organisation trust from the referring party is transferred into trust in the organisation and also links into the Extended Contact Model (Wright et al. 1997) whereby less prejudice is felt towards the friend of a friend because of the individual's positive association with the friend being projected onwards. Here, more trust is felt towards the friend of a friend, even though the friend in this case is an organisation and not a person. This is consistent with the idea of trust being derived from third party sources (Burt & Knez 1996).

The quantitative data made clear that trust is built during the contact and that post-course trust and contact outcomes were related. In Chapter 6 we saw that higher trust outcomes post-course were interdependent with higher prejudice reduction and so it is important to understand why this may be. Trust built in the contact appears to come in two forms. The first of this is trust which is built in the organisation via a facework process with the facilitators and programme staff. In this instance individuals representing the programme and organisation are perceived by participants as behaving in trustworthy and virtuous ways and these are then conferred onto the wider organisation. These appear to overlap with the benevolence and integrity dimensions of trustworthiness.

Secondly, and separately but as a result of building this “safe space” or forum for contact, a level of trust with fellow participants which allows the positive contact outcomes to occur is built. This interpersonal trust between participants is projected, to a degree onto Catalyst, through the forming of a common group identity with fellow participants in the same Catalyst cohort.

The Common Group Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio 1993, 2000) works on the principle that individuals from different outgroups are asked to reconceive group boundaries to form a new group identity which they share with other participants to form a new “common group” with the logic being that ingroup favouritism in this group will lead to reduced bias and prejudice towards members. The qualitative data is suggestive that this is how prejudice is reduced towards other participants in Catalyst. This then feeds into the Intergroup Contact Model whereby a positive interaction with an outgroup member, provided that the individual is identified as belonging to an outgroup, will lead to lower levels of prejudice towards that whole outgroup (Hewstone & Brown 1986). Here, a positive interaction with a fellow participant of a different demographic group, provided that the individual is identified as representing the group, leads to higher levels of trust towards other members of that group and the group as a whole. Instances of this happening were common in the behavioural and attitudinal changes of participants and this is suggestive of this being a driver of positive contact outcomes in this study.

The findings in this chapter, and the strong linkages to established intergroup contact and trust theory and literature, generates a much greater understanding of how participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact outcomes and the outcomes of the contact are related. These findings go further though and suggest that perhaps the fields of trust and intergroup contact are related at a much deeper level, and that trust plays a much greater role in enabling and facilitating intergroup contact than is currently recognised in the wider literature.

These findings are bought together in the next, and final, chapter of this research in the form of final conclusions, reflections and recommendations for future areas of practice and research.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This concluding chapter will address the research findings, both with regards to the original aim and hypothesis and the emergent findings of the work. The contribution to knowledge that these findings make and the gap in the research that they address and begin to fill will be made clear. In this process, the limitations of the research are examined and discussed. This study has opened new areas of interest that can inform future research and practice, but this must be framed by the limitations of the work and the conclusions drawn. Finally, the chapter will conclude with reflections on the research and the implications of the findings for myself, the intergroup contact field and those involved in it as academics and practitioners.

8.1 Research Findings

The hypothesis of this research was that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and outcomes of the contact are related, and the research findings are highly suggestive that this is the case and that there is an interdependence between the two variables. This interdependence, however, did not occur in the manner that the literature and previous research may have suggested that it might, but rather in a fashion that was more multi-faceted and had much greater depth than was expected.

The research was planned and designed in a way that had not presupposed the existence of a relationship between organisational trust and intergroup contact outcomes. There was, though, an expectation that if such a relationship did exist that it would be a fairly simple and straightforward one that acted upon an already known moderator of intergroup contact. The literature review suggested that this would likely include participant pre-contact anxiety and social embarrassment as these are the outcomes of high levels of situational uncertainty (Smith & Ellsworth 1985) in the participant and that trust in offering positive expectations of an interaction (Mayer et al. 1995) would act as a bulwark against this.

The results of the quantitative aspect of the research did show that a relationship exists between organisational trust and intergroup contact outcomes, but it also showed that this relationship was not as straightforward or as focused on the pre-contact outcomes as the review of intergroup contact and organisational trust literature in Chapter 2 had anticipated and so this opened up new and unexpected dimensions to the research and the findings.

There were no statistically significant outcomes observed which related pre-course organisational trust to the level of prejudice reduction which took place in participants across the programme. However, there was a very strong relationship found between participant trust in the organisation at the end of the contact and the level of prejudice reduction that

they had undergone. This relationship was even stronger when the analysis just focussed on overt and *"old fashioned"* (Ho et al. 2012) forms of prejudice, including racism. This is highly supportive of the hypothesis and was also indicative of something happening during the contact which made the relationship between trust and contact outcomes stronger.

In order to understand more about what occurred in the contact to improve both trust and contact outcomes, the qualitative data was interrogated to produce a deeper understanding of what these trust building processes were and how they linked to enhanced prejudice reduction. This process also enabled a stronger appreciation as to who or what participants were referring to when placing their trust in the organisation. What emerged here was a consistent pattern of reliance on interpersonal trust and institutional-based trust (Bachmann & Inkpen 2011) to create trust in the organisation. This process of facework (Giddens 1990, Kroeger 2017) occurred prior to and during the contact and drew from the already established trust in individuals and organisations referring participants to the programme and those working for it. In the latter example the positive values and behaviours of those facilitating the programme were projected by participants into being representative of the organisational values and behaviours.

There were no participants at all in the quantitative cohort who could be considered to be low trust and this puts emphasis on the idea of pre-contact organisational trust being important for getting participants into the intergroup contact scenarios. It appears to be the case that either low trust individuals choose to avoid intergroup contact scenarios or that they are "primed" through the process described above from a condition of low trust to a moderate or higher one before the actual contact begins.

The *"special role"* (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006) that organisational support for intergroup contact holds was well established prior to this research, but as the processes by which organisational trust enables intergroup contact to work effectively became clearer, this added further emphasis and evidence to the important role that supporting organisations play in intergroup contact. Here, by virtue of being trusted by participants to uphold the principles of intergroup contact and to protect them from harm or injurious outcomes, the organisation is able to create the forum for contact, which many participants referred to as being a "safe space".

This space then allowed participants to positively engage with one another as a cohort and to develop a common group identity (Gaertner and Dovidio 1993, 2000). This common group identity feeds directly into established intergroup contact models with ingroup favouritism in this group leading to reduced bias and prejudice towards group members. These positive feelings towards members of the common group are then projected onto the wider

demographic or social groups which these members belong to (Hewstone and Brown 1986) and thus prejudice towards those groups as whole, and not just the individuals involved in the contact, is reduced.

This process demonstrates well the symbiotic nature of the relationship between organisational trust and intergroup contact outcomes and suggests that the role that the organisation plays in intergroup contact has been significantly underplayed and under-researched. The organisation supporting intergroup contact underpins it as, without this, the pre-conditions of contact cannot be fulfilled or upheld, and the contact becomes less structured and more situational. In turn, it appears that the trust in the organisation supporting the contact may be the foundation on which engagement with the organisation supporting contact, and therefore the contact itself, is built. Participants must show some level of trust in the organisation in order that they voluntarily engage with it and they must have positive expectations of the interaction and experiences of contact with outgroup members for prejudice to be reduced.

This research has not only addressed the hypothesis and demonstrated that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact does have an effect on the outcome of the contact, but it has also shed light on how this happens.

8.2 The Contribution to Knowledge of this Research

This research addresses blind spots in intergroup contact theory and in doing so makes several notable contributions to knowledge. The first of these is bringing the fields of intergroup contact and organisational trust together and conceptually linking them through the literature review. This has been an under-researched area and conceptually linking the two fields has opened up new avenues to explore in understanding how the processes of intergroup contact work and can better be refined.

Secondly the research established a relationship between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact. Again, this was a significant gap in existing research, and the evidence has been produced in this study is supportive both of this relationship existing and being important. This finding shifts some of the focus of intergroup contact moderators from the pre-contact stage towards looking at what actually happens during the contact and suggests that the organisational trust processes are intertwined and mutually beneficial.

This research also deepened the understanding of the importance of the role played by the organisation in supporting intergroup contact and the elevated role that this holds in

underpinning the other essential pre-requisites of intergroup contact. Of the 134 studies in Pettigrew & Tropp's meta-analysis of intergroup contact studies (2006), organisational support was the only ever-present pre-requisite. As intergroup contact is structured and that all structured contact, by definition, requires an organising or supporting body to structure and convene is a good explanation as to why this is the case, but is also dismissive of the extra value which organisational support brings in upholding the other pre-requisites. This research produces a new and more detailed understanding of this process.

It is hoped that this research has opened up a number of new lines of enquiry into the relationship between organisational trust and intergroup contact. This can go beyond just the relationship between organisational trust and contact outcomes to take a wider look at how trust is built in contact scenarios. This research develops an understanding of why and how organisations in intergroup contact are trusted and who the referents of this trust are, but there is much more to be researched and known here. This is also the case with the important role that interpersonal and institutional-based trust play in building participant trust in the supporting organisation. This area, in particular, has big implications for practice and has highlighted a gap in the existing knowledge and is highlighted as an area of future interest in section 8.4.

8.3 Research Limitations

The research and the findings drawn from it do have limitations and these are mainly related to the generalisability of the findings and the small sample sizes in both the quantitative and qualitative studies. That the statistical validity of the quantitative research is good and as all the pre-requisites of optimal intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006) were in place makes the findings relevant to other intergroup contact scenarios that meet the same pre-requisite conditions. This means that the study is representative of similar programmes it is likely that the findings generated by it will correspond with conditions which are found in real world intergroup contact scenarios. However, the strength of the conclusions drawn is limited by the generalisability of them as the research is one study of one intervention and so the conclusions and findings cannot be treated as absolute. Research which included data from more than one programme or intervention and which had larger sample sizes would enable the drawing of firmer and more generalisable conclusions.

Moreover, this was not an experimental study, and this is untypical of the intergroup contact field and so there is a limited fit and comparability of results with many other publications and pieces of research which are relevant and related. That this would be the case was clear from the start however, and whilst it can limit the comparability of the findings with other studies in the academic field this approach does also make it more accessible and relevant

to practitioners and policy makers. The detailed methodological approach will allow other researchers to undertake similar research under similar conditions.

That there were no low trust individuals involved in either cohort of the study could be viewed as a further limitation which restricts the wider application of findings. The self-selecting nature of the participants in the qualitative aspect of the work means that there is little surprise that these are all individuals who have a good base level of trust in Catalyst. They have been on the programme, completed it and have opted to remain in contact with it, all before also agreeing to take part in the research and so they are not likely to hold strongly negative views towards it.

The lack of low trust participants in the quantitative study was more of a surprise though and is a more compelling case for being a research limitation. The mean participant OTI score prior to contact was 44 on a scale of 12-60 and the lowest score, and therefore lowest trust observed, was 36. Even this lowest score is exactly in the middle of the possible range.

The lack of lower trust participants in the quantitative data may not be a weakness of the dataset itself, but instead a possible reflection of the methodological approach taken. In using a real-world intergroup contact programme as the case study for the research instead of conducting a controlled laboratory experiment, there was scope for participants to pre-screen themselves by not taking part in the contact. It could be the case that those with low organisational trust towards the supporting organisation declined the opportunity to take part in the contact, and this would also potentially account for the lack of pre-contact anxiety held by participants. That the research does not, and cannot, show the relationship between contact outcomes and organisation trust in low trust individuals is a limitation of the work and an area of potential future interest.

The limitation of the research is the sample sizes available in the quantitative data analysis is likely related to the methodological approach of requiring participants to complete both pre and post course questionnaires. Many participants on the programme did not complete the forms which contained the online pre-course and post-course questionnaires and the use of paired participant responses too meant that the dataset of 301 responses (173 pre-course and 128 post-course) only manifested itself into 45 complete and usable paired sets of responses for the SDO and OTI scales. These numbers are still above the threshold needed to generate statistically significant data to the academic standard of there being a less than a 5% (or 1 in 20) chance that any findings are down to chance, but the datasets, and the anxiety sets in particular, would have been stronger with a larger volume of responses. It is hoped that future follow up studies could be run with larger sample sizes.

A final limitation of the research is that we now know that participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact are related and that these variables are interdependent and affect each other, but we do not know if they are causal in this relationship. The correlational design of the study was appropriate for testing for the existence of the relationship between participant organisational trust and contact outcomes, and there was no realistic or ethical scope for the manipulation of the variables, but this does limit the power of the research to make clear and evidenced findings about causal aspects of the relationship. This is a clear area of future interest.

8.4 Areas of Future Research and Potential Implications for Practice

The outcomes of the research and the fact that the findings were much more detailed and layered than had been anticipated opens up several possible areas of future research. Intergroup contact is, and always has been, a field which is not static, and which accepts that the processes involved within it are complex and not yet fully understood (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006, Stephan & Stephan 2005). This research has been an attempt to develop the understand of one area of these complex processes.

It is my hope that, going forward, organisational trust can, and will, be more widely researched in relation to intergroup contact and that other academics and students of intergroup contact will be the beneficiaries of this work. Similarly, it is hoped that policy makers and practitioners will benefit from this research. Policy makers will now have more evidence-led information available to them when designing and planning policies and interventions whilst practitioners will have the same available to them when implementing these.

Armed with the knowledge that there is an interdependence between participant trust in the organisation supporting intergroup contact and the outcomes of the contact, the most logical, and perhaps important, area of future research would be to develop a regression study of using the same variables as this research. This would potentially be able to go beyond acknowledging the interdependence of the variables and could, data permitting, show the existence of causality. In turn this could allow for a predictive model to be developed which could reliably forecast participant prejudice reduction based on organisational trust.

Conducting such a study in an experimental setting may be beneficial because, though not necessarily as applicable in the real-world, this would provide a much closer fit to other intergroup contact research and thus allow for better comparability of results across the field. The downside of an experimental study is that it may be deemed unethical to control either

of the variables in the contact scenario unless there are very strict pre-conditions put into place to protect participants.

The area of pre-contact organisational trust and pre-contact anxiety is another area of interest which could generate relevant and impactful research. This study has highlighted how pre-contact organisational trust is built in the Catalyst programme and it would be beneficial to test these findings for greater validity and transferability.

The idea that participant trust in the organisation supporting the intergroup contact is a requirement of good contact being able to take place is a powerful, yet logical, one. Developing a greater understanding of this could enable better and more impactful contact to take place with those who hold high levels of prejudice towards other groups and who are most in need of the intervention. A piece of research such as this would also be relevant in testing the suitability of trusted, often local deliverers of intergroup contact, social cohesion and integration programmes. This is particularly relevant to those in the community, voluntary and faith sectors who, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this research, are the frontline providers of such work in the UK.

An interesting, relevant and unstudied angle of this proposed study, or another entirely, would be a piece with those who avoid intergroup contact. In the Catalyst example, we know that those who engaged with the programme had at least moderate levels of trust in it at the start of the intervention. We also know that in schools and colleges that the programme would have been offered to whole classes and year groups, but not taken up by all pupils in them. Understanding why some pupils rejected the chance to take place in the programme and measuring their trust in it may shed light on both pre-contact anxiety and contact avoidance and the role that trust plays in these.

Finally, the research draws out some important implications for intergroup contact practitioners. In a contemporary UK context this is likely to include churches, mosques and other faith centres, schools, local community groups, national charities and NGOs which are funded by local or central government to promote social cohesion, community cohesion and inter and intra faith relations. Many of these organisations may not realise that the direct and structured contact which they run and promote works along the same pre-conditions and to the same desired outcomes as intergroup contact. Raising awareness of this is important as it then allows learning from the intergroup contact field to be transferred into practice.

That this research was conducted in the real world using a case study of a programme that is representative of the wider cohesion and interfaith sector in the UK makes this work relevant and accessible to practitioners and practitioner organisations than an experimental

piece of research would have. Publishing abridged findings in collaboration with CUF will allow practitioners to see and learn from the research, and so this should be considered a key area of work in the immediate future.

The important role that interpersonal and institutional-based trust play in building participant trust in the supporting organisation is now clear and the findings are strongly suggestive that the levels of trust in the supporting organisation are related to the ability of an intervention to reduce participant prejudice. In plain terms this would mean that by building trust in the organisation, those which deliver interventions related to cohesion and interfaith relations can make their work more effective with very little, or no, extra resource.

The research cannot have any impact if those on the front-line are unaware of it and so formalising the findings of this research in a guidebook or toolkit which is accessible to front-line intergroup contact organisations and workers is an important area of future work and one which can run parallel with publishing findings with CUF. This should highlight the important role played by trusted individuals who allow their positive values to be projected onto organisations through their behaviours in delivery, or through lending credibility by referring and advocating, and would allow for the adoption of findings which could make this research more impactful.

8.5 Concluding Thoughts

Sitting in a Metropolitan Police Community Tension Monitoring meeting in 2011 and being unable to fully answer a question, I would never have guessed that I would still be attempting to answer this question 10 years later. Why is it that attempts to build better relations between the police and communities who are fearful, mistrustful and potentially hostile to the police may be better if organised and run by trusted local community, voluntary and faith sector organisations instead of the police themselves? I am, though, now much closer, and hopefully, much more coherent in my attempts to articulate why participant trust in organisations attempting to bring people and groups together to reduce prejudice between them is likely to be an important factor. This research does not have all of the answers, but it does go some way towards answering the question.

This research has shown that there is a relationship between the trust which an individual feels towards the organisation running intergroup contact and the ability of that contact to reduce the prejudice towards others. The findings of this research also show that people are important in the process too, and vitally so. Trust in the organisations running intergroup contact programmes is not seen here to be built by the organisation itself, instead it is built

by the people who work for them and by the people and other organisations who advocate for them.

Good community and social relations in the UK are dependent on the people employed and volunteering in the community, voluntary and faith sectors who work in bringing people together to improve their lives and make their local areas better and safer places to live. These are people who often work unsociable hours in insecure roles which are at the mercy of the whims of government policies and funding cycles.

It is my pleasure to work with these people and to help them develop their work and to capture the impact of it, and this includes working with CUF and the Catalyst programme. It is my hope that this research achieves two things: firstly, that this and further research can lead to a refinement and improvement of practice in working to reduce prejudice; and secondly, my hope is that this research can draw focus to the important role that community, voluntary and faith organisations play in working to reduce prejudice across society.

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Appendix 1 Evidence of Ethical Approval

Certificate of Ethical Approval

Applicant:

Daniel Range

Project Title:

"Does participant trust in the organisation supporting Intergroup Contact have an effect on the outcomes of the contact?"

This is to certify that the above named applicant has completed the Coventry University Ethical Approval process and their project has been confirmed and approved as Medium Risk

Date of approval:

03 July 2020

Project Reference Number:

P76131

Appendix 2: Semi Structured Interview Guide

1. Introduction and opening

1.1 Short introduction to the research

This interview forms part of a joint research project between CUF and the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations at Coventry University. CUF and CTPSR have worked together for around 4 years to evaluate Near Neighbours and Catalyst programmes. This work is an extension of that and also forms part of the data collection for my PhD. We are primarily interested in how and why you came to be on the Catalyst programme, what you have taken away from the programme and what you have done or aspire to do since.

We really appreciate you taking the time to sit with us and to talk about your experiences of the programme. We would like you to go into as much detail as you can when we are talking and to not worry about going off on to tangents. We want to understand more about your experiences and the best way that we can do this is by listening to you. However, if there is anything that you don't want to talk about or would rather not answer then please know that that is fine and we will move on.

Your participation is totally voluntary, and we can stop the interview at any time.

So that we can catch everything you say, we would like to record our conversation, with your permission. If there is anything that you would prefer for us not to record, you can tell us that at any time and we will stop recording.

As part of our commitment to ethical and rigorous research, we need to ask you to take a few minutes to look at the following Participant Information Sheet and then, if you are happy to proceed, to sign the Informed Consent Form. The Participant Information Sheet is yours to take away with you and includes all the details that you may wish to know regarding data usage and storage as well as any relevant contact details that you may need should you wish to discuss the research further for any reason.

[Give out Participant Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form and get the latter signed]

2. Recruitment

2.1 Can you start by telling us how and why you came to be on the Catalyst programme?

Let participant respond in full then explore further on all of:

2.2 When and where did you participate in Catalyst?
2.3 How did you hear about the programme?
2.4 What was it that attracted you to it?
2.5 What did you want to get from it?
2.6 Had you heard of Catalyst, Near Neighbours or CUF before? If so, what did you think about them?
2.7 Did you know anyone who had been on the programme or who was working on it or recruiting for it? If so, who was this and how did they influence your choice?
2.8 Why do you think that CUF run the Catalyst programme?

2.9 Why do you think that the people who run the Catalyst programme or who train on it do so?

2.10 When you think of the Catalyst programme, who or what do you think of?

As prompts where appropriate and suitable:

- Can you tell me more about that?
- Why is that? / Why do you think that?
- Is there anything else?

3. <u>Before the programme</u>

3.1 Can you tell us about yourself before you went on the programme? Who were you as a person and how did you see yourself?

Let participant respond in full then explore further on all of:

3.2 Prior to going on the programme, how would you have identified yourself? Pretend that you were asked to describe yourself in one sentence. What would you have said?

3.3 What values were most important to you?

3.4 What community or communities were you a part of? How were you involved in those communities?

3.5 Had you ever been in a leadership position in your community? If so, can you tell us about this? If not, did you aspire to?

3.6 Did you see yourself as a leader? Why or why not?

3.7 Still thinking about before the programme, did you spend much time or do many things with people who are different from yourself? [Prompt on race, religion, gender, sexuality, social and economic class.]

3.8 Remembering that this interview is entirely confidential and that you don't need to answer anything that you are not comfortable with, can you tell us if there were any groups of people different to you that you never interacted with? This can be through choice or through lack of opportunity.

As prompts where appropriate and suitable:

- Can you tell me more about that?
- Why is that? / Why do you think that?
- Is there anything else?

4. <u>During the programme</u>

4.1 <u>Can you tell us a bit about your experience of participating in Catalyst?</u>

Let participant respond in full then explore further on all of:

4.2 <u>What is one thing that you learned from Catalyst?</u>

4.3 <u>Are there any skills that Catalyst helped you to develop?</u>

4.4 <u>How did Catalyst challenge you?</u>

4.5 <u>What were the best and worst parts of the programme for you?</u>

5. <u>After the programme</u>

5.1 Can you tell us a little about your experiences after the programme?

Let participant respond in full then explore further on all of:

5.2 What have you gone on to do, in the months or years after participating in Catalyst? [probe for education and work]
5.3 What difference has participating in Catalyst made to your life?
5.4 How, if at all, have you applied the knowledge or skills that you gained from Catalyst? [probe for specific examples]
5.5 How, if at all, has Catalyst changed the way that you are involved in your community/communities?
5.6 Have you taken on any leadership roles? [If yes] How, if at all, do you feel that Catalyst equipped you to take on those roles?
5.7 Have you stayed in contact with anyone from your Catalyst cohort, or anyone else connected to Near Neighbours?
5.8
5.9 Thinking back to what you said earlier about your interactions with other groups, do you think that this has changed since you were on the programme? And if so, how?
5.10 (If relevant) You mentioned not interacting with [INSERT AS APPROPRIATE] before. How do you feel about this now?
5.11 Would you say that your values are the same as they were before the programme or different? If so, how so.
5.12 Remember back that we asked you to describe your pre-Catalyst self in one sentence. You said [INSERT AS APPROPRIATE], is that you now? If not, what has changed? What would you say now?
5.13 How do you feel now about Catalyst, CUF or the people that represented Catalyst to you?
5.14 Do you have a CV? If so, does it say anything about Catalyst? If yes, what? If they do have a CV but don't mention Catalyst, then why is this?
5.15 Have you or would you recommend Catalyst to anyone? If you have, who and under what circumstances? And why? If you haven't but would, then who might you recommend it to and why? If you haven't and wouldn't then why is this?

As prompts where appropriate and suitable:

- Can you tell me more about that?
- Why is that? / Why do you think that?
- Is there anything else?

6. <u>Trust and prejudice</u>

A key aspect of the CTPSR study is looking at how trust and prejudice are linked. We've a few questions here and we would ask to, if you wish to respond, to do so as honestly and openly as you can. Remember that this interview is confidential and your name will not be linked to it.

6.1 What do you understand by the term "trust"? What do you think it means?

6.2 Do you trust CUF and the Catalyst programme? If so, why and how do you think that this changed over the duration of the programme? What made you trust? OR What made you not trust?
6.3 Do you trust the people representing or working for the Catalyst programme? If so, why and how do you think that this changed over the duration of the programme? What made you trust? OR What made you not trust?
6.4 What do you understand by the term “prejudice”? What do you think it means? Can you name some different types of prejudice?
6.5 If at all, how do you think that being on the Catalyst programme has made you think differently about other groups and individuals?
6.6 Do you think that prejudice is an issue in society today? Please go into detail here.
6.7 We appreciate that this is a very out of the blue question so take a minute to think if you need to: What sort of society do you aspire to live in? What values does it have?
6.8 Where do trust and prejudice fit in your ideal society? Are they important?

7. <u>Follow up</u>

7.1 Is there anything that you feel is relevant and we haven't talked about? Anything you would like to add?
7.2 Was there anything in the questions today that surprised or interested you? Would you like to know any more about why we were asking these or is there anything else that you would like to add to your answers?
7.3 Do you have anything that you would like to ask?

Appendix 3 Pre-course Questionnaire

Catalyst Pre-course Survey

Coventry University have been commissioned to undertake an evaluation of the Near Neighbours Catalyst programme. The findings from this questionnaire will inform this work. These responses will also inform PhD research and may be included in the findings of this. **Responses to the questionnaire will be completely anonymised and individual responses will not be shared with anyone**.

This questionnaire should take no more than 15 minutes to complete and participation in this research is voluntary. You can withdraw your responses at any time up until October 31st 2020 without penalty or needing to explain why. Please contact Daniel Range Content removed on data protection grounds.

This questionnaire is designed to be completed by delegates before they begin the Near Neighbours Catalyst programme. There will be an additional questionnaire at the end of the programme and a further follow up one in several months. Completing these questionnaires honestly and fully allows the successes of the programme to be showcased and areas where the programme is not currently strong to be improved. Your input is greatly valued and appreciated.

Thank you.

Please turn the page to start the survey.

1 How did you hear about the programme?

Online

Leaflet

Through place of worship

Near Neighbours Co-ordinator

School or College

Other

a If you selected Other, please specify:

2 Why are you taking part in the programme? What are you hoping to gain from taking part?

3 Have you been involved in any similar programmes before?

Yes

No

Don't know

a If Yes, can you please give details of the programme(s)?

4 Have you ever been involved in a leadership position in your local community and/or faith community before?

Yes

No

Don't know

5 Please read the following statements and indicate to what degree you agree or disagree with each. Please answer as honestly as you can and remember that answers to these questions are anonymous and will not be seen by anyone other than Coventry University Researchers. No one at Near Neighbours or Catalyst will see them.

Show how much you favour or oppose each idea below by selecting a number from 1 to 5 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

	1 Oppose Strongly	2 Oppose	3 Neutral	4 Favour	5 Favour Strongly
1. Some groups of people must be kept in their place.					
2. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.					
3. An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.					
4. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.					
5. Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.					
6. No one group should dominate in society.					
7. Groups at the bottom should not have to stay in their place.					
8. Group dominance is a poor principle.					
9. We should not push for group equality.					
10. We shouldn't try to guarantee that every group has the same quality of life.					

11. It is unjust to try to make groups equal.					
12. Group equality should not be our primary goal.					
13. We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.					
14. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.					
15. No matter how much effort it takes, we ought to strive to ensure that all groups have the same chance in life.					
16. Group equality should be our ideal.					

6 We appreciate that your interactions with Catalyst may, at this point, have been rather limited. However, it is important that we understand more about how Catalyst is perceived by people who know it well and people who do not. Answers to these questions are anonymous and will not be seen by anyone other than Coventry University Researchers. No one at Near Neighbours or Catalyst will see them. **Please take your time to read each statement and respond as honestly as you can to describe how you feel that the statement fits with your feelings towards the people running Catalyst.**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I think the people running Catalyst tell the truth in interactions.					
I think that the people running Catalyst meets all their agreed obligations to me.					
In my opinion, the people running Catalyst are reliable.					
I think that the people running Catalyst succeed by stepping on other people.					
I feel that the people running Catalyst try to get the upper hand.					
I think that the people running Catalyst takes advantage of my problems.					
I feel that the people running Catalyst interact with me honestly.					

I feel that the people running Catalyst will keep their word.					
I think that the people running Catalyst do not mislead me.					
I feel that the people running Catalyst try to get out of their commitments.					
I feel that the people running Catalyst negotiate joint expectations fairly.					
I feel that the people running Catalyst take advantage of people who are vulnerable.					

Content removed on data protection grounds.

7 On a scale of 1-5 how nervous or apprehensive are you about meeting and spending time with people on the course who are different to you?

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Very

a Can you tell us why this is?

Finally, can you please give us some demographic details. These are used for monitoring purposes and will not be tied to your earlier answers in a way that will make you identifiable.

8 Which area are you from?

9 You may withdraw your participation after the study has taken place at any time. Your data will be completely anonymous. In order to withdraw your data we will ask you to create a unique participant code that only you will be able to recreate. **Please create your code here by entering the first 2 letters of your surname followed by the day of the month on which you were born. EG: John Smith born on 15/06/90 would enter SM15.**

10 What is your religion?

11 What is your gender?

12 How old are you?

Thank you very much. The questionnaire is now complete.

Appendix 4 Post-course Questionnaire

Catalyst Post-course Survey

Coventry University have been commissioned to undertake an evaluation of the Near Neighbours Catalyst programme. The findings from this questionnaire will inform this work. These responses will also inform PhD research and may be included in the findings of this. **Responses to the questionnaire will be completely anonymised and individual responses will not be shared with anyone**.

This questionnaire should take no more than 15 minutes to complete and participation in this research is voluntary. You can withdraw your responses at any time up until October 31st 2020 without penalty or needing to explain why. Please contact Daniel Range should you Content removed on data protection grounds.

This questionnaire is designed to be completed by delegates when they finish the Near Neighbours Catalyst programme. You may have been asked to complete a similar questionnaire when you began the programme. Completing these questionnaires honestly and fully allows the successes of the programme to be showcased and areas where the programme is not currently strong to be improved. Your input is greatly valued and appreciated.

Thank you.

Please turn the page to start the survey.

1 To what extent would you agree that the programme met your aims and expectations?

Strongly Agree

Agree

Neither Agree Nor Disagree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

2 To what extent would you agree that the programme has prepared and enabled you to take a more active leadership role within your community?

Strongly Agree

Agree

Neither Agree Nor Disagree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

3 Would you recommend Catalyst to others who are looking to take on a more active leadership role within their communities?

Yes

No

Don't know

a Why is this?

4 What were your favourite themes or subjects on the programme and why?

5 What were your least favourite themes or subjects on the programme and why?

6 What is the one major positive thing that you have taken away from being on the programme?

7 What is the one major improvement that you think could be made to the programme?

10 Going forward, on a scale of 1-5 how nervous or apprehensive you are about meeting people who are different to you?

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Very

a Do you think that being on the course has made you more or less comfortable about meeting people who are different to you?

More comfortable

Less comfortable

About the same

Don't know

b Can you tell us why this is?

8 Please read the following statements and indicate to what degree you favour or oppose each. You may have answered similar questions in a previous questionnaire, please answer these too. Answer as honestly as you can and remember that answers to these questions are anonymous and will not be seen by anyone other than Coventry University Researchers. No one at Near Neighbours or Catalyst will see them.

Show how much you favour or oppose each idea below by selecting a number from 1 to 5 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

	1 Oppose Strongly	2 Oppose	3 Neutral	4 Favour	5 Favour Strongly
1. Some groups of people must be kept in their place.					
2. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.					
3. An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.					
4. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.					
5. Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.					
6. No one group should dominate in society.					
7. Groups at the bottom should not have to stay in their place.					
8. Group dominance is a poor principle.					
9. We should not push for group equality.					
10. We shouldn't try to guarantee that every group has the same quality of life.					
11. It is unjust to try to make groups equal.					
12. Group equality should not be our primary goal.					
13. We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.					
14. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.					
15. No matter how much effort it takes, we ought to strive to ensure that all groups have the same chance in life.					
16. Group equality should be our ideal.					

9 It is important that we understand more about how Catalyst is perceived by people who know it well and people who do not. You may have answered similar questions to these in a previous questionnaire, please answer these too. Answers to these questions are anonymous and will not be seen by anyone other than Coventry University Researchers. No one at Near Neighbours or Catalyst will see them**. Please take your time to read each statement and respond as honestly as you can to describe how you feel that the statement fits with your feelings towards the people running Catalyst.**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I think the people running Catalyst tell the truth in interactions.					
I think that the people running Catalyst meets all their agreed obligations to me.					
In my opinion, the people running Catalyst are reliable.					
I think that the people running Catalyst succeed by stepping on other people.					
I feel that the people running Catalyst try to get the upper hand.					
I think that the people running Catalyst takes advantage of my problems.					
I feel that the people running Catalyst interact with me honestly.					
I feel that the people running Catalyst will keep their word.					
I think that the people running Catalyst do not mislead me.					
I feel that the people running Catalyst try to get out of their commitments.					
I feel that the people running Catalyst negotiate joint expectations fairly.					

I feel that the people running Catalyst take advantage of people who are vulnerable.					

If completing these questions about trust has raised any issues that you would like to talk to someone about, then please email Liz Carnelley (elizabeth.carnelley@cuf.org.uk) for advice and support.

Finally, can you please give us some demographic details. These are used for monitoring purposes and will not be tied to your earlier answers in a way that will make you identifiable.

10Which area are you from?

9 You may withdraw your participation after the study has taken place at any time. Your data will be completely anonymous. In order to withdraw your data we will ask you to create a unique participant code that only you will be able to recreate. **Please create your code here by entering the first 2 letters of your surname followed by the day of the month on which you were born. EG: John Smith born on 15/06/90 would enter SM15.**

11 What is your religion?

12 What is your gender?

13 How old are you?

Thank you very much. The questionnaire is now complete.

Appendix 5: SPSS Output Tables

Table A: Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov[a]			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
SDO_Pre_Total	.117	26	.200*	.948	26	.211
OTI_Pre_Total	.151	26	.131	.943	26	.159
Pre_nerves_meet_others	.169	26	.053	.891	26	.010
OTI_Post_Total	.107	26	.200*	.953	26	.276
SDO_Post_Total	.160	26	.084	.905	26	.021
SDO_Change	.084	26	.200*	.983	26	.927
Post_nerves_meet_others	.231	26	.001	.853	26	.002

*. This is a lower bound of the true significance.

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Table B: Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	SDO_Pre_Total	29.58	45	8.047	1.200
	SDO_Post_Total	28.09	45	10.280	1.532

Table C: Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	SDO_Pre_Total - SDO_Post_Total	1.489	7.641	1.139	-.807	3.785	1.307	44	.198

Table D: SDO Subset Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	SDO_Pre_PTD	2.16	45	.737	.110
	SDO_Post_PTD	1.89	45	.870	.130
Pair 2	SDO_Pre_CTD	2.02	45	.806	.120
	SDO_Post_CTD	1.93	45	.835	.124
Pair 3	SDO_Pre_D	2.09	45	.664	.099
	SDO_Post_D	1.89	45	.795	.119
Pair 4	SDO_Pre_PTAE	1.50	45	.506	.075
	SDO_Post_PTAE	1.50	45	.624	.093
Pair 5	SDO_Pre_CTAE	1.72	45	.593	.088
	SDO_Post_CTAE	1.69	45	.709	.106
Pair 6	SDO_Pre_AE	1.61	45	.506	.075
	SDO_Post_AE	1.60	45	.631	.094

Table E: SDO Subset Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	SDO_Pre_PTD - SDO_Post_PTD	.261	.832	.124	.011	.511	2.104	44	.041
Pair 2	SDO_Pre_CTD - SDO_Post_CTD	.089	.624	.093	-.099	.276	.955	44	.345
Pair 3	SDO_Pre_D - SDO_Post_D	.194	.600	.089	.014	.375	2.175	44	.035
Pair 4	SDO_Pre_PTAE - SDO_Post_PTAE	.000	.603	.090	-.181	.181	.000	44	1.000
Pair 5	SDO_Pre_CTAE - SDO_Post_CTAE	.022	.588	.088	-.155	.199	.253	44	.801
Pair 6	SDO_Pre_AE - SDO_Post_AE	.011	.549	.082	-.154	.176	.136	44	.893

Table F: SDO Subset Paired Samples Effect Sizes

				Point Estimate	95% Confidence Interval	
			Standardizer[a]		Lower	Upper
Pair 1	SDO_Pre_PTD - SDO_Post_PTD	Cohen's d	.832	.314	.013	.611
		Hedges' correction	.840	.311	.012	.606
Pair 2	SDO_Pre_CTD - SDO_Post_CTD	Cohen's d	.624	.142	-.152	.435
		Hedges' correction	.630	.141	-.151	.432
Pair 3	SDO_Pre_D – SDO_Post_D	Cohen's d	.600	.324	.023	.622
		Hedges' correction	.605	.321	.022	.617
Pair 4	SDO_Pre_PTAE - SDO_Post_PTAE	Cohen's d	.603	.000	-.292	.292
		Hedges' correction	.608	.000	-.290	.290
Pair 5	SDO_Pre_CTAE - SDO_Post_CTAE	Cohen's d	.588	.038	-.255	.330
		Hedges' correction	.593	.037	-.253	.327
Pair 6	SDO_Pre_AE - SDO_Post_AE	Cohen's d	.549	.020	-.272	.312
		Hedges' correction	.554	.020	-.270	.310

a. The denominator used in estimating the effect sizes.

Cohen's d uses the sample standard deviation of the mean difference.

Hedges' correction uses the sample standard deviation of the mean difference, plus a correction factor.

Table G: SDO-PTD Subset and Overall SDO Change Correlations

		SDO_Pre_PTD	SDO_Change
SDO_Pre_PTD	Pearson Correlation	1	-.256*
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.045
	N	45	45
SDO_Change	Pearson Correlation	-.256*	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.045	
	N	45	45

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

Table H: OTI Pre and Post Paired Samples Effect Sizes

					95% Confidence Interval	
			Standardizer[a]	Point Estimate	Lower	Upper
Pair 1	OTI_Pre_Total - OTI_Post_Total	Cohen's d	7.587	-.712	-1.036	-.381
		Hedges' correction	7.653	-.706	-1.027	-.378

a. The denominator used in estimating the effect sizes.

Cohen's d uses the sample standard deviation of the mean difference.

Hedges' correction uses the sample standard deviation of the mean difference, plus a correction factor.

Table I: OTI ABI Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	OTI_Pre_A - OTI_Post_A	-.489	.772	.115	-.721	-.257	-4.246	44	.
Pair 2	OTI_Pre_B - OTI_Post_B	-.400	.784	.117	-.636	-.164	-3.422	44	.
Pair 3	OTI_Pre_I - OTI_Post_I	-.461	.767	.114	-.691	-.231	-4.034	44	.

Table J: OTI ABI Paired Samples Effect Sizes

					95% Confidence Interval	
			Standardizer[a]	Point Estimate	Lower	Upper
Pair 1	OTI_Pre_A - OTI_Post_A	Cohen's d	.772	-.633	-.951	-.309
		Hedges' correction	.779	-.628	-.942	-.307
Pair 2	OTI_Pre_B - OTI_Post_B	Cohen's d	.784	-.510	-.818	-.197
		Hedges' correction	.791	-.506	-.811	-.195
Pair 3	OTI_Pre_I - OTI_Post_I	Cohen's d	.767	-.601	-.916	-.281
		Hedges' correction	.773	-.596	-.909	-.278

a. The denominator used in estimating the effect sizes.
Cohen's d uses the sample standard deviation of the mean difference.
Hedges' correction uses the sample standard deviation of the mean difference, plus a correction factor.

Table K: Wilcoxon Test Ranks- Anxiety

		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Post_nerves_meet_others - Pre_nerves_meet_others	Negative Ranks	9[a]	6.06	54.50
	Positive Ranks	2[b]	5.75	11.50
	Ties	15[c]		
	Total	26		

a. Post_nerves_meet_others < Pre_nerves_meet_others
b. Post_nerves_meet_others > Pre_nerves_meet_others
c. Post_nerves_meet_others = Pre_nerves_meet_others

Table L: Test Statistics[a]

	Post_nerves_meet_others - Pre_nerves_meet_others
Z	-1.950[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.051

a. Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test
b. Based on positive ranks.

Table M: Spearman's Rank Order Correlation between SDO change and pre-course anxiety

			SDO_Change	Pre_nerves_meet_others
Spearman's rho	SDO_Change	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.243

		Sig. (1-tailed)	.	.116
		N	45	26
	Pre_nerves_meet_others	Correlation Coefficient	.243	1.000
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.116	.

Table N: Spearman's Rank Order Correlation between pre-course OTI and pre-course anxiety

			Pre_nerves_meet_others	OTI_Pre_Total
Spearman's rho	Pre_nerves_meet_others	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.234
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.	.125
		N	26	26
	OTI_Pre_Total	Correlation Coefficient	.234	1.000
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.125	.
		N	26	45

Table O: Pre-course OTI and Anxiety Change Correlations

			OTI_Pre_Total	Post_nerves_change
Spearman's rho	OTI_Pre_Total	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.118
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.	.220
		N	45	45
	Nerves_change	Correlation Coefficient	-.118	1.000
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.220	.
		N	45	45

Table P: Spearman's Rank Order Correlation between post-course OTI and anxiety change

			nerves_change	OTI_Post_Total
Spearman's rho	nerves_change	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.047
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.	.379
		N	45	45
	OTI_Post_Total	Correlation Coefficient	.047	1.000
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.379	.
		N	45	45

Table Q: Pre-course OTI and Demographic Variables ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Area	Between Groups	20.637	16	1.290	.519	.914
	Within Groups	67.090	27	2.485		
	Total	87.727	43			
Religion	Between Groups	58.321	16	3.645	1.572	.143
	Within Groups	64.924	28	2.319		
	Total	123.244	44			
Gender	Between Groups	4.365	16	.273	1.689	.111
	Within Groups	4.362	27	.162		
	Total	8.727	43			
Age	Between Groups	15.121	16	.945	1.023	.463
	Within Groups	25.857	28	.923		
	Total	40.978	44			
how_did_you_hear_about_the_programme	Between Groups	5.049	16	.316	.605	.853
	Within Groups	14.595	28	.521		
	Total	19.644	44			

involvement_in_previous_programmes	Between Groups	8.019	16	.501	2.346	.023
	Within Groups	5.981	28	.214		
	Total	14.000	44			
previous_leadership_positions	Between Groups	4.767	16	.298	.831	.643
	Within Groups	10.033	28	.358		
	Total	14.800	44			

Table R: SDO-PTD Change and Demographic Variables ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Area	Between Groups	11.967	13	.921	.365	.971
	Within Groups	75.760	30	2.525		
	Total	87.727	43			
Religion	Between Groups	20.403	14	1.457	.425	.954
	Within Groups	102.841	30	3.428		
	Total	123.244	44			
Gender	Between Groups	3.061	14	.219	1.119	.383
	Within Groups	5.667	29	.195		
	Total	8.727	43			
Age	Between Groups	10.525	14	.752	.741	.719
	Within Groups	30.453	30	1.015		
	Total	40.978	44			
how_did_you_hear_about_the_programme	Between Groups	5.664	14	.405	.868	.597
	Within Groups	13.981	30	.466		
	Total	19.644	44			

involvement_in_previous_programmes	Between Groups	4.917	14	.351	1.160	.352
	Within Groups	9.083	30	.303		
	Total	14.000	44			
previous_leadership_positions	Between Groups	6.409	14	.458	1.637	.126
	Within Groups	8.391	30	.280		
	Total	14.800	44			
OTI_Pre_Total	Between Groups	398.286	14	28.449	1.040	.444
	Within Groups	820.914	30	27.364		
	Total	1219.200	44			
OTI_Post_Total	Between Groups	1007.624	14	71.973	1.703	.108
	Within Groups	1267.576	30	42.253		
	Total	2275.200	44			

Table S: Post Course OTI and Post Course SDO Correlations

		OTI_Post_Total	SDO_Post_Total
OTI_Post_Total	Pearson Correlation	1	-.643**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000
	N	45	45
SDO_Post_Total	Pearson Correlation	-.643**	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	

	N	45	45

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Table T: SDO Change and OTI Pre Correlations

		SDO_Change	OTI_Pre_Total
SDO_Change	Pearson Correlation	1	.020
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.447
	N	45	45
OTI_Pre_Total	Pearson Correlation	.020	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.447	
	N	45	45

Table U: SDO Change and OTI Post Correlations

		OTI_Post_Total	SDO_Change
OTI_Post_Total	Pearson Correlation	1	-.465**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.001
	N	45	45
SDO_Change	Pearson Correlation	-.465**	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.001	
	N	45	45

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Table V: OTI Post-Course Total and SDO PTD Change Correlations

		SDO_PTD_Change	OTI_Post_Total
SDO_PTD_Change	Pearson Correlation	1	-.528**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000
	N	45	45

OTI_Post_Total	Pearson Correlation	-.528**	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	
	N	45	45

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Table W: OTI Post-Course Total and SDO PTD Change Correlations

		SDO_PTD_Change	OTI_Pre_Total
SDO_PTD_Change	Pearson Correlation	1	-.130
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.197
	N	45	45
OTI_Pre_Total	Pearson Correlation	-.130	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.197	
	N	45	45

Appendix 6 Library Declaration and Deposit Agreement

Content removed on data protection grounds.